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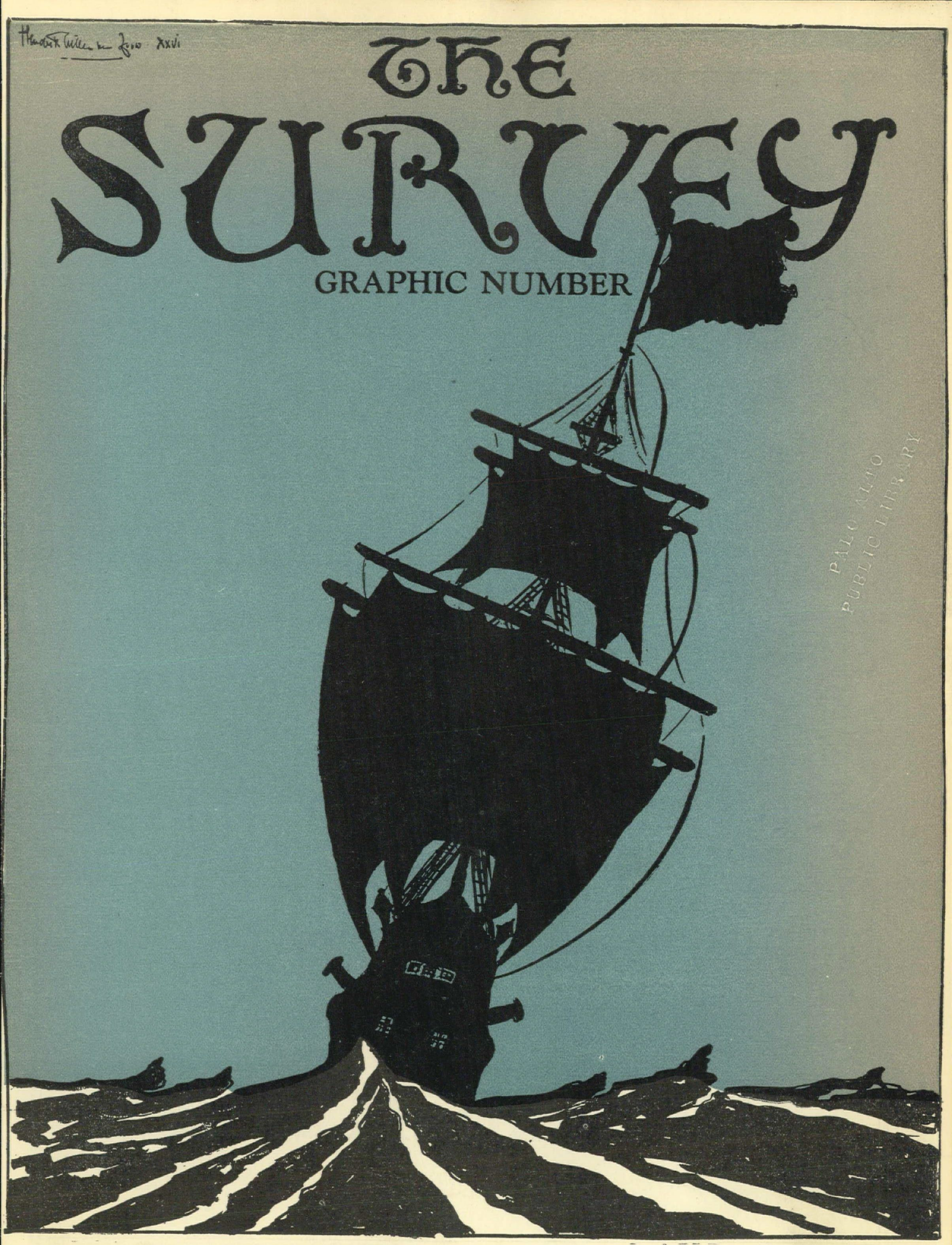

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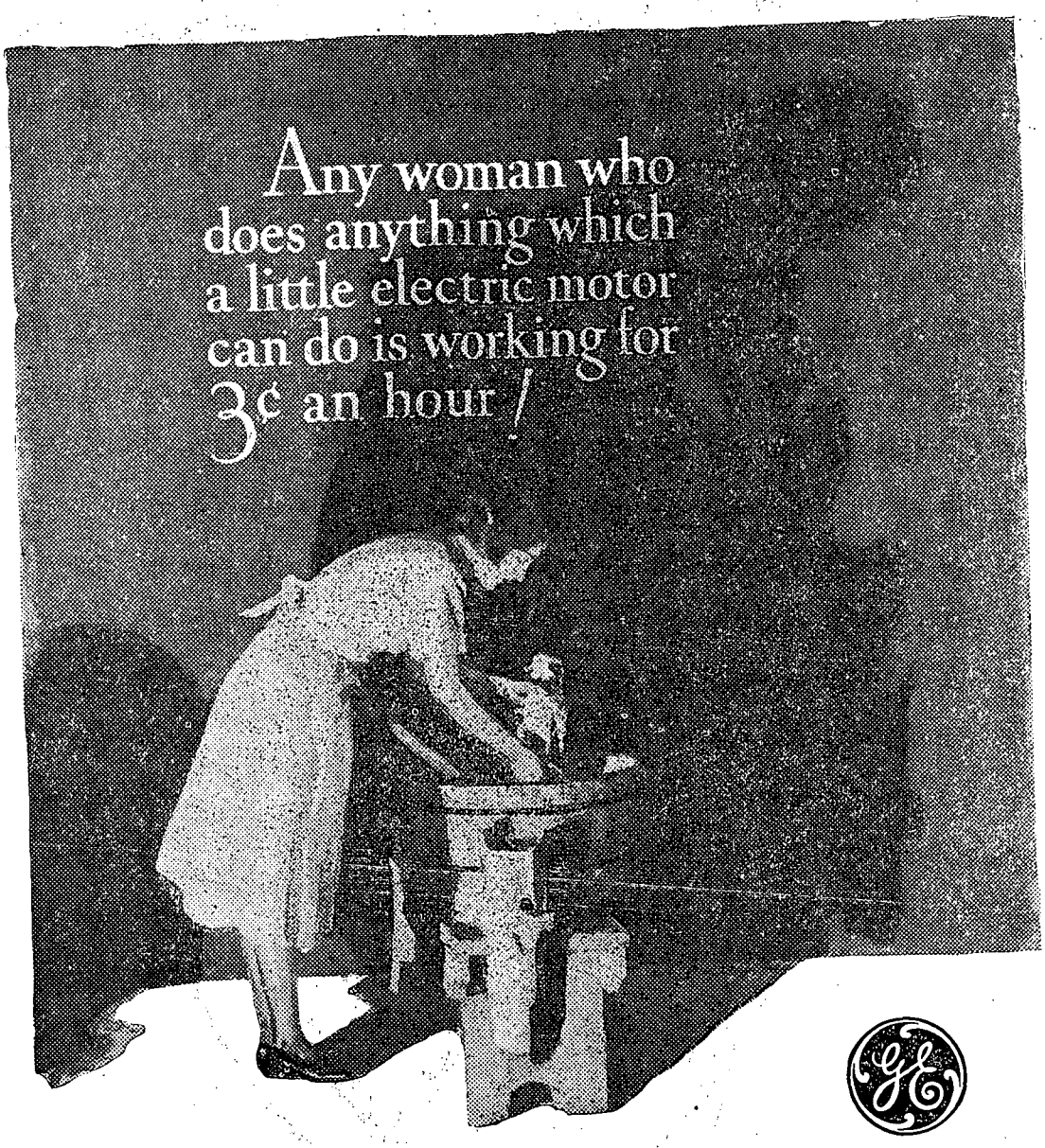

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THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

AGAIN on the anniversary of the outbreak of the World War The Survey devotes a substantial amount of its space to the issues of war and of peace, and most of all to constructive efforts to resolve those issues in a way that brings civilization nearer. The issue of slavery is not, it is true, a war-breeder among civilized nations today, but wherever it lingers—and Mr. Warnshuis brings startling testimony (p. 485) to its present extent—it remains a challenge to the international conscience. Mr. Warnshuis is one of the secretaries of the International Missionary Council, which represents the missionary bodies of seventeen nations.

SHORT of a complete change in the heart of man (or in his behavior patterns, if you like that better) what one thing would do more than any other to bring peace and international fellowship nearer? A common language? And if so, what language? J. C. Breckinridge, an officer in the United States Marines, answers these questions out of his experience (p. 492).

FROM Above the Battle in Switzerland, the author of Jean Christophe looked out over the grinding surfaces of the World War, as throughout the four years the mills which men had built crushed and bruised the common life of Europe. Afterwards, in Clerambeault, he interpreted the struggle in terms of the conflict in a man's soul. So when the scene shifted from the European battlefields to the clashes between Europeans and native peoples in Africa and Asia, we asked M. Rolland to interpret what has been happening in the Riff and in Syria.

"I used to be a historian by profession," he wrote, "and have retained the scruples of the profession. I know too well the demands of historical criticism to permit myself to judge the happenings in the Riff and in Syria without the necessary information, for I consider second-hand information which one cannot control and verify for one's self as of very little value. But I should like at least to say how the problem should, in my opinion, be put."

He has done this for us on page 495. He has lifted the political question of the day to a much larger bearing—to the one hope he holds to, to save white civilization as a whole from "heading toward catastrophe."

ANNA L. CURTIS, who tells of the post war work of the Friends in Europe (p. 497), did a great deal of relief work in this country during the war so "after all the speaking, writing and clothes-sorting that I had done in the Quaker relief work on this side of the water, it was really not much of a change to be sent across to the other side." She was in Germany for two years and some of the sketches she gives are from her personal experience.

BERNHARD RAGNER writes of the "temperamently disabled" veterans of the A. E. F. who drift in and out of Paris and in and out of jobs (p. 500). He writes: "all the examples cited are from real life. I have studied this problem both in America and France. I am interested in it, since I am a war veteran myself. As managing editor of The Paris Edition of the Chicago Tribune, most of my efforts have been expended, wherever possible, to 'place' the peace casualty. But my primary job is to get out a good paper and naturally I couldn't do this by employing men whose chief recommendation was a service stripe, sometimes a wound stripe. Consequently the tragedy has been brought home to me in vivid fashion."

BECAUSE of her early industrial studies on the one hand and her active interest in feminism on the other, The Survey turned to its European correspondent to act as unofficial observer of the highly controversial meetings of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Paris (p. 502). Mrs. Parker returns to this country this summer with her three children. They have been at school in Switzerland; while she has been studying in Vienna, writing novels and occasionally sending The Survey a brilliant paper on the League and its secretariat or some international issue. During the past winter she has been working in the British Museum on a history of industry.

THE Jury for the second quarterly award of the Harmon Foundation for an unpublished manuscript submitted to The Survey—the subject this quarter being Play for Grown-ups—has been completed. It consists of Robert E. Park, professor of sociology in the University of Chicago; Joseph Lee, president of the Playground and Recreation Association of America; Robert Sterling Yard, executive secretary of the National Parks Association; Walter W. Pettit, head of the community organization department of the New York School of Social Work; and Geddes Smith, associate editor of The Survey. Manuscripts may be submitted up to September 30, 1926. Full details were published in Survey Graphic for July, and will be mailed on request.

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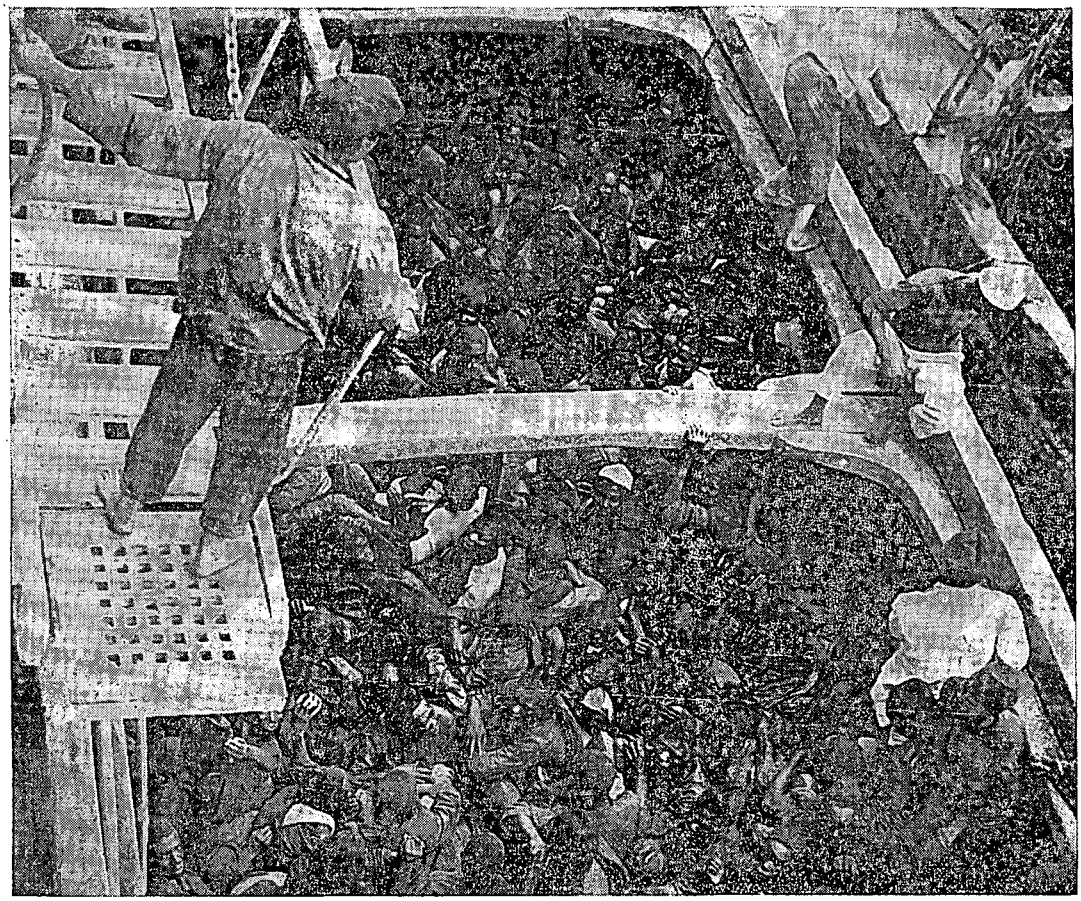

A LOAD OF BLACKS
Off the Coast of Africa

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THE SURVEY
GRAPHIC NUMBER

AUGUST 1, 1926

Volume LVI, No. 9

Slavery In 1926

By A. L. WARNSHUIS

Could there be a more anachronistic title than that which heads this article? Americans, laggard though their own nation was in abolishing human slavery within its borders, have thought of the issue as one long since settled. We were stirred out of this comfortable illusion by the stories brought to public attention last summer by Professor Ross of Wisconsin University, who revealed widespread forced labor in Portuguese Africa, and the researches of the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations discover abundant need for a fresh and persistent effort "to make men free." What part can and will the United States take in this new abolition movement?

FOUR centuries ago Europe began a career of conquest, development and trade in the new world of America. For the crime of bringing across the Atlantic millions of black slaves, the world has not yet ceased to pay. Great as that cost has already become, slavery—clearly recognized by the civilized Powers as a crime against humanity to be prevented by concerted action—still persists in some eighteen or nineteen areas, and more effective measures are required for its complete abolition.

Today another continent, Africa, is being developed and the labor of its native people is being exploited in many places. The type of the victim of the greed of plantation and mine owners is not that of the slave in America and the West Indies. He is a person whose status is given a different name. But under whatever name, the fact is that the conditions of forced labor in many places have become such as are more inhuman than slavery itself. The slave owner had a property interest in his slaves; no investment interests in those compelled to work for him serve to restrain the employer from the brutal treatment of his forced laborers.

Slavery, slave raids, slave markets, and the slave trade still continue in Abyssinia, the Hedjaz, Morocco, Tripoli, the Libyan Desert, Rio de Oro, Arabia, Egypt, the Soudan, Eritrea, French, British and Italian Somaliland, Tibet, Afghanistan, Liberia, in most independent Mohammedan states, and several other territories. This statement is based upon the report presented to the League of Nations in September, 1925, by its Temporary Slavery Commission. This Commission was composed of British, French, Belgian, Portuguese, and Dutch officials who had had much experience in colonial administration.

This man attempted suicide to escape "contract labor"

The more insidious forms of slavery and so-called adoption, debt-slavery, concubinage, and forced labor are prevalent in many parts of the world and to a very large extent. These evils are not limited to Africa. For example, the Commission's report says

> There is reliable information that many pathetic forms of debtor pledging exist in some countries in America, where they constitute abuses of a system called "peonage." Under this system the debtor agrees to work for the creditor until the labor as supplied is considered equivalent to the value of the land allotted to him or any advances of money made to him. It often happens that the creditor arranges that his debtors get more and more into debt, with the result that, what was in the beginning an apparently equitable contract, is transformed finally into an enslavement for life.

Reference to the Philippine Islands also appears in the discussions of this subject by the Commission, as follows: "Similar practices would appear to have existed some time ago

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Two African Villages

INHABITANTS 150, taxpayers 44. The Chief says that the village had to furnish a skilled worker for six months, then two had to be provided. The man who was the best carpenter in the district furnished his own tools and food and got nothing, not even a tax receipt. Informed that his wife was sick he obtained a day's leave to go home. Finding her in childbirth and with no one but a little girl to help her he outstayed his leave one day. A *cipaio* [native policeman] came, tied him up, and brought him to the Post where the *Administrador* had him given a severe beating with the *palmatorio* [rod] and threw him into prison. Next morning early the Chief saw them bring this man out of prison with his hands too swollen to close, give him a hoe and set him to work on the road. An armed *cipaio* stood over him and kept him steadily at work. He was weak from lack of food and could hold the hoe handle only between thumb and palm.

The village was required to keep seven continuously on road work, "spelled" every two weeks. Both men and women worked under a *cipaio* who had a *chicote* [whip], days very long. Besides this the whole village was out about a month working on the roads. This *corve* [obligation to perform certain service] is one of the chief reasons why in some villages people are dying of hunger. The authorities pay no attention to the requirements of the native crops. They may be called out just when the rice is ripe so that in their absence the birds get it.

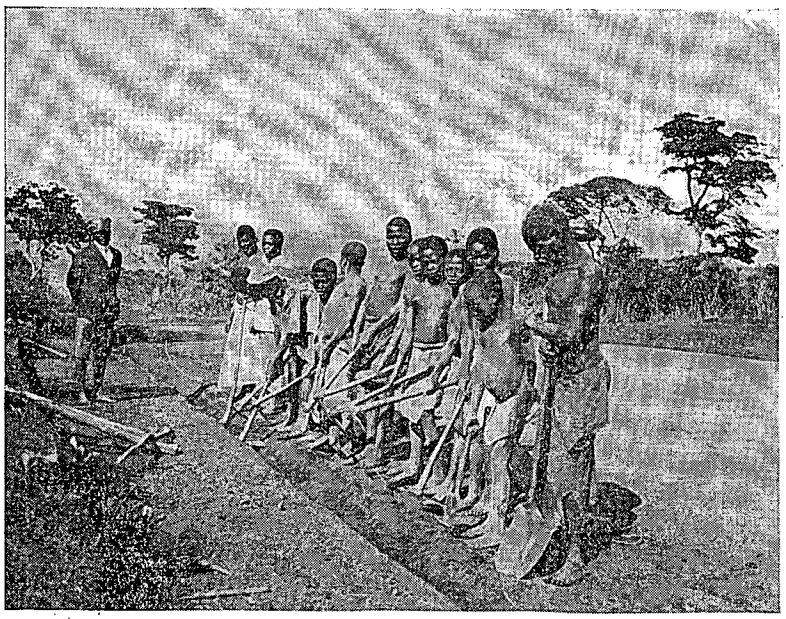
In 1923 two traders near here wanted carriers to convey their goods to railhead at Chinguar. They simply sent to the Post, each asking for ten carriers. The loads they gave out were forty-five kilos each, so the village had to furnish double the number of carriers and divide the loads. The carriers were taken to the white man by a *cipaio*. No food was provided. They asked for pay and were told "This is on government requisition and no pay goes with it." Thus forty carriers were done out of their time for thirty days each, for they made two round trips. The law lays down that forced workers shall be paid. Foreigners are required to pay the wages in the presence of the *Administrador*, but for the Portugese this clause of the law is a dead letter and they help themselves freely to native labor.

NATIVES called out from this village, which we reach a little further on, report that a gang of men taken away to labor nine months ago are not back yet. Taxes here are collected in such a way as to create as many delinquents as possible. Those who do not produce the money when summoned are "delinquents" and they never know when they will be summoned. . . . Where a highway crosses the swamp I count ninety-nine persons, nearly all women and girls, carrying earth in baskets on their heads about 300 yards to make a huge fill. There are thirteen babies on backs and twelve of the gang are too young to be mothers. A mile further on I find twenty-nine women carrying earth, of whom fourteen have babies on their backs. Five men are on their job, one a foreman. Some have been three months on the job alternating with a member of their family.

—From the Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portugese Africa made in 1925 after an independent investigation by Professor E. A. Ross.

in the Philippines. It would be of interest to know if they have been suppressed, and if so, by what means." This diplomatic enquiry is not satisfactorily answered by the reports contained in some recent books that describe the conditions still prevailing in those Islands.

Forced labor, disguised under various forms of taxation or openly exacted by chiefs and local government officials, is inflicted upon the people in many parts of Africa. The League's Commission did not have time to examine the evidence that it received on this subject and its report does not specify where the evil exists. The report presented by Professor E. A. Ross of Wisconsin regarding the terrible conditions which he found in some of the Portuguese territories has been criticised with regard to the methods employed in securing his evidence, but his statements of facts have not been seriously contradicted. Such a book as Kenya by Dr. Norman Leys brings charges against British colonial administration that are most serious. Other reports tell of injustice in French territories. Nor were the Germans any better in their colonial government where the plantation system prevailed. Recent reports seem to show great improvement in the Belgian Congo as compared with conditions there a few years ago.



A forced labor gang in Bailundo—note the young boy beside the old man

These methods of compulsory labor are not excused by the oft-repeated statements regarding "obligation to work" as a law of nature which it is the duty of governments to enforce in the fulfillment of their civilizing mission. The

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Where Slavery Lingers

THE legality of the status of slavery is not recognized in any Christian state (mother-country, colonial dependencies and mandated territories) except Abyssinia. Moreover, in Abyssinia, edicts have been issued which, if put into force, would enable a large number of the slaves to recover their liberty, would assure to the others humane treatment and would prevent others from being enslaved in the future. . . . The status of slavery is today recognized by law only in certain Asiatic countries, such as Tibet and Nepal, and in most of the Mohammedan states of the East, such as Afghanistan, the Hedjaz and other Arabian states. . . .

INFORMATION from reliable sources enables the Commission to state that the slave trade is practiced openly in several Mohammedan states in Asia and in particular in the Arabian peninsula, especially the Hedjaz. It is known that the Hashimite Government received dues on slaves sold in the markets, which is equivalent to an official recognition of the legality of this trade. The Commission does not know whether the present Government of Mecca or the provisional Government established at Jedda have maintained or abolished this practice, but there can be no doubt that Negroes from the African continent are imported and sold as slaves in several districts of Arabia. . . .

It is certain that the most effective way to abolish this phase of slave-dealing [clandestine traffic towards the Arabian peninsula and Persian Gulf] is to prevent the slave ships from disposing of their human cargo. It is therefore of great importance that the Powers should insist, by whatever means they may think best, that those states which were formerly a part of the Ottoman Empire should adopt measures regarding slavery and the slave trade not less liberal than existed under Turkish rule—in particular, in the matter of the right of asylum, which was formerly effectively asserted by the foreign consuls and diplomatic agents. . . .

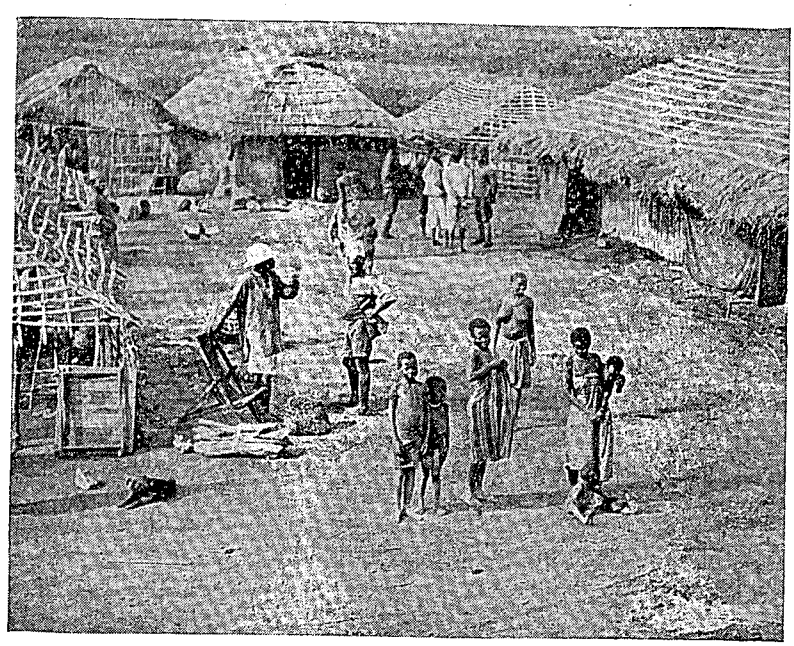
THE custom of concubinage under Moslem law and according to certain local practices is . . . . likely to lead to slave-dealing, since the acquisition of a concubine is generally effected by means of payment of a sum of money. . . .

Children in Africa, as also in most Eastern countries, are called upon to perform a great deal of menial work. Households in which there are no children—or in which the children have grown up—are therefore generally eager to procure children to act as household drudges. Care must therefore be taken when freed-slave or other children are placed with native families to see that they are not practically enslaved—a possibility the more likely as they are held in native opinion to be of the slave status. The system of procuring children for so-called "adoption" is alleged to prevail with the knowledge of the government in some cases, as, for instance, in China, Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements. . . . In the two latter countries it has comparatively recently been abolished by law. The Commission has also heard on very high authority that a similar system exists in Liberia. . . . In other cases the children are surreptitiously purchased from dealers. This gives rise to a regular traffic in small children. . . . —*From the Report of the Temporary Slave Commission of the League of Nations.*

more serious question needs to be considered as to whether European and American capital and greed are not responsible for the attempt to develop the industry of these African colonies at a more rapid rate than the labor reasonably supplied by the limited population warrants.

THE Covenant of the League of Nations, in Article 23, declares that its members "will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor—both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend," and "undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control." Much has been written of the principle of trusteeship to justify colonial administration. The issue now is whether the native peoples shall be forced to work as the white man wills, or whether they are to be encouraged and helped to better themselves by the development of production without loss of freedom. In order that the laborers may seek wage labor, it is necessary to ensure to them the right to sell their labor in the best market under humane conditions, so that they may benefit and not deteriorate under the guidance of their employers. In a Supreme Court decision Justice Hughes has said, "There is no more important concern than to safeguard the freedom of labor upon which alone can enduring prosperity be based."

There is no space here to give concrete examples of the



A village in the Belgian Congo, where the government has apparently made great efforts to improve conditions

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Debt-Slaves and Serfs

Extracts from the Report of the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations

THE custom by which a person who cannot pay his debts may in some way offer himself in payment and become the unpaid servant of his creditor has always been widespread in all primitive communities. . . . Sometimes this enslaving is voluntary on the part of the debtor, sometimes he is compelled to submit to it. . . .

The abuses of the system known in certain parts of the world as peonage may lead, in the opinion of the Commission, to a form of debt slavery even graver in its social effects than those practices which arise out of native custom. The latter, for the most part, are methods of redeeming debts owed by one native to another of approximately equal status; they affect individuals only and they are usually well understood by both parties. The obligations resulting from peonage are, on the other hand, imposed by persons of a more privileged position upon others less favored; the result in the formation of a class of permanently enslaved debtors who, when entering into the arrangement in question, do not apparently understand its consequences. The Commission considers that this form of debt-slavery, wherever it exists, calls for immediate action. Legislation might be adopted which would only recognize as valid the arrangement by which the debtor pledges his services in payment of his original debt, and provides that this original debt shall be extinguished after a fixed period of time proportioned to the original amount.

"SERFDOM exists under different forms in the countries where slavery is still a recognized institution and in most of those where this institution has been in force up till a relatively recent date. The total disappearance of slave dealing and even the effective abolition of the status of a slave would not necessarily result in the suppression of serfdom, for the children of serfs remain serfs forever and there is no need in consequence to recruit from outside sources a class which is self-perpetuated. In many parts of Africa the number of serfs is much greater than that of the free-born people. The serfs often constitute the mass of the population, occupy the greatest area of cultivated soil and form the majority of the productive element. Moreover, with the exception of a small portion due to their lords, the product of their cultivation and their industry belongs generally to them, and no restrictions are placed on their prosperity or on the liberty of their movements. According to strict native law, they are in an inferior position to the free men. In practice, they merely represent a social class corresponding, so to speak, to that which was called the third estate in France before the Revolution. . . . There is therefore nothing repugnant in their situation: most of them in the towns are domestic servants or artisans; in the country they are peasants, either farming for their lords or cultivating on their own account."—*M. Delafosse.*

abuses that still prevail, either as slavery, peonage, forced labor or other conditions analogous to slavery. For these the reader is referred to the reports and books that are now easily obtainable. But what is being done about it?

THE Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1925, after receiving the report of its Temporary Slavery Commission, adopted a Draft Convention, which it requested the Council to circulate to all the members of the League and to other Powers, including the United States. These governments were invited to comment on the Draft Convention, and at its session on June 9, 1926, the Council having received these comments, decided to place the Convention on the Agenda of the Assembly that is to meet next September.

When the Draft Convention was presented to the last Assembly, it was described as a "minimum standard," which all governments might be expected to adopt. An examination of its terms will show that its requirements are so easy as to lead one to fear that it will accomplish very little in abolishing "slavery in all its forms" as the signatories of the Treaty of St. Germains in Article 11 pledged themselves to endeavor to secure. So far as forced labor is concerned it falls far below the standards set up in the mandates of the League, in which the mandatory Powers agreed to prohibit all forms of forced labor, except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration. The British Government has gone still farther in restricting recourse to forced labor, for which authority must be obtained from the Secretary of State, which authority will be given only "when absolutely necessary for essential services," and only "for specified work for a specified period," and such labor must in all cases be fully paid. "Under no circumstances could the British Adminstration tolerate in any form the principle of compulsory native labor for private profit, be the employer native or non-native"—is a statement in the report of the East African Commission. As compared with these statements and the terms of the mandates, the Draft Convention says nothing about compensation, and it may be fairly interpreted as legalizing forced labor for private profit. The earnest hope must be expressed that the Draft Convention will be amended very much before it is concluded and opened for signature.

By the recent action of the Council of the League, it would seem that the United States is definitely excluded from further participation in the negotiations of this Convention. The reason for this seems to be that the United States has on other occasions always objected to becoming a party to the setting up of any permanent bureau or agency such as will be needed to make effective an international agreement such as this one should be. So our fear of entangling alliances is effectual in preventing us from cooperating in the effort "to free tens or hundreds of thousands of unhappy beings from conditions which closely resemble slavery, and which now exist; and which will be of untold advantages to humanity in general."

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A former field hand

Types from the Old South

DRAWN FROM LIFE BY OTIS PHYSIOC

FROM Americus, Georgia, come these three pen and ink portraits of a woman and two men, survivors of slavery days in the United States. The woman was a field hand, and in her youth sometimes plowed until late at night on the plantation of her owner. Now in her old age she is a kind, gentle old body, who maintains herself by doing bits of work here and there, jogging from place to place with her sack and collecting food for her modest needs. The farmer is a thrifty old man in his eighty-sixth year who owns his small farm and saves his money against the time when he shall be really old. And the odd jobs man is a town character who "works around," enlivening all who come in contact with him by his quaint philosophy and his whimsical notions. Something very sweet lingers in the old-fashioned manners and the quaint gentility of these old people—something that is changed or lacking in their more independent descendants. Out of the duress of slavery the African nature emerged gentle and patient and kind, untainted by bitterness—and continues to contribute in simple unsophisticated humility its gift to the American life in the southern states where it has taken root and found a home.

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An odd jobs man

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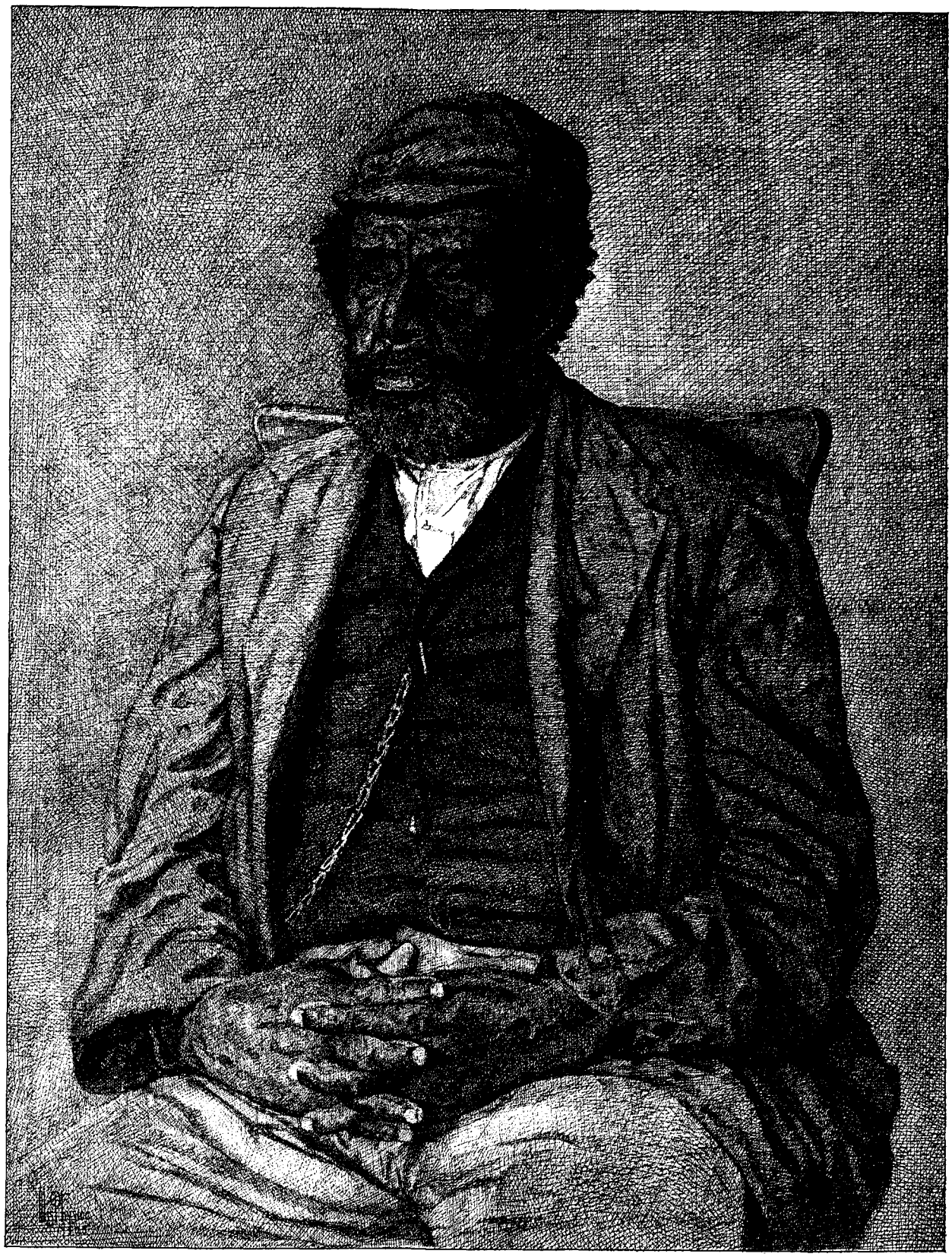

An independent farmer

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The Gift of One Common Tongue

By COLONEL J. C. BRECKINRIDGE, U. S. M. C.

"'Tis said they understand one another, but for my part I shall never believe it," said a famous Englishman of the Basques, and the barrier between those who speak different tongues has never been more pungently expressed. Language is the tool of understanding, and we are hard put to it to build a common understanding without a common language. The Tower of Babel is no place for a peace conference. Here a Marine officer draws on his round-the-world experience with the ever-present riddle of languages and suggests his own solution

SEVERAL years ago I was stationed in the Dominican Republic, where the United States was engaged in rebuilding a collapsed government. The language of that country is Spanish. One afternoon I was riding towards the town of San Pedro de Macoris, accompanied by another officer who had been in the country for about two years. As I was a new arrival I did not know my way about, but it was evident from the position of the sun that we were not traveling in the right direction. So I asked my companion to ride to where some natives were working in a field and inquire the right trail. He engaged the natives in a conversation that seemed to be a little heated, and too long for the simple question involved, so I started towards them to see what was the matter. Suddenly he wheeled and trotted back to me, saying in a disgusted tone: "Colonel, you would hardly believe it, but not one of those natives understands a word of English!" I asked if he spoke Spanish, and when he replied in the negative I rode to where the Dominicans were and asked the way. In a few seconds they pointed the right trail out to me, and we proceeded on our way. Later I asked my companion if he spoke French and Haitian Creole. Of course there was no reason why "bush" Dominicans should be expected to speak anything but their own language, but the point I wish to bring out is that in that group four languages were understood, English, French, Creole and Spanish, but the two parties could not converse because none was common to them.

Much of the wastage of the world is caused by lack of understanding. In our efforts to promote peace and its arts it seems folly to overlook so simple and easy a device as agreement upon a common medium of expression. Our civilization reminds me of the Tower of Babel. This does not mean that all nations should speak a single tongue, but that it would simplify human intercourse if the nations would agree upon one tongue to be used in addition to their own. Think of the time saved in the study of languages, and the better understanding that would follow in the interests of commerce, education, human relations and peace. Let me turn the subject over a bit, in a personal sort of way, illustrating from my own experience the needless effort and confusion due to nothing but lack of agreement.

In 1916 I was crossing Siberia, en route from Peking to Petrograd. English and French had seen me safely through Mukden, Chang Chung and Harbin. As evening drew on after leaving Harbin I became interested in the question of dinner, and eventually gathered some information by the simple process of pointing to my open mouth and then to my watch. The train conductor looked as though he were undecided whether to put me off or lock me up, but another passenger laughed and placed the tip of his finger on the number six. He then made motions of handling a knife and fork and I nodded. The look of suspicion left the face of the conductor, and some of the passengers seemed to be sorry the exhibition was over. Word must have been passed along the train that some kind of a crazy foreigner was on board because people kept passing for the obvious purpose of looking at me. After a time a swarthy individual was ushered up by several helpful passengers, and he addressed me in what was evidently Italian. I replied in English and in French, and then in Spanish. He understood that tongue as badly as I did, but managed to answer my questions and give me some useful information. He was an Italian who had been in business in Russia for many years. Suppose we analyze this situation a little bit. There was an Italian, translating from Russian into Spanish, for the benefit of an American! I do not know how many other languages he spoke, but they were useless in this particular case, as were the French and German of the American. The reason for German not being mentioned before will be explained in a moment.

Several days later (it took ten days from Peking to Petrograd) a bearded individual boarded the train and was put into the compartment with me. I waited with some amusement for his first effort at conversation. After moving about and fidgeting for several minutes he faced me and spoke in Russian. I replied in English, and he shook his head and said *"niet, niet!"* Then he tried another. I caught the sounds of *"por Polski"* and answered, this time in French, saying I could not speak Polish. He then made a series of noises that I have never been able to identify, and I copied him to the extent of shaking my head and saying *"niet, niet!"* But this was a fellow of resource. He looked out in the corridor and after assuring himself that no one would hear, he whispered: *"Sprechen Sie Deutsch?"* I admitted that I did, but mentioned the fact that there was a fine of two thousand roubles for speaking German during the war. He said that did not make any difference if nobody heard it! The point here is that our understanding was found in the German tongue, and the study of all other tongues was, so far as we were concerned, wasted effort.

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A Dane traveled with us from Omsk to Petrograd. He was a brilliant sort of man. Half the passengers on the train seemed to know and like him. He was manager of one of the Asiatic offices of the Danish cable company, but had lived for years in Russia proper. His use of English was flawless, including humor and slang, but he said he was more at home in Russian because he had never been in an English-speaking country. He did not consider himself a linguist, although he was accustomed to transacting business in English, Russian, Polish, French, modern Greek, "a little Turkish," and "naturally in Norwegian and Swedish because I am a Dane," and "of course everybody has to know German." Consider the years of that man's busy life that had been necessarily wasted in fitting himself to conduct his business! And with all those languages at his tongue's end he would have been *totally lost* had he gone to South America where the languages are Spanish and Portugese. Indeed the human race has too much difficulty in communicating with itself!

When the war broke out in the summer of 1914 I was traveling in Norway with some of my family. The town of Trondhjem, northern terminus of the railroad, was packed with the people of many lands, all talking at once and trying to find out how they were to get back home. After seeing to the wants of my own party I was standing in the door of the hotel waiting for time to leave. A Frenchman and two ladies attacked the head porter with a volley of language. They seemed to be in a frenzy to get information about a certain train. But there was no mental contact. The porter waved his arms and spoke in Norwegian. He had the necessary information, and was willing to give it, but he did not know what was wanted. I stepped over and asked him if he understood German. He did. Then I asked the questions the French family had been asking. In a few moments the situation was clear. At the time this did not seem to be a complicated matter; it meant no more than a little translating. But it was complicated, unnecessarily so. In order that two people could exchange ideas and information it took three races and four languages!

A similar situation arose sometime in 1917, when I was going from Sweden to Denmark by way of Helsingborg-Helsingor. Just ahead of me in the line was a man with a Russian passport and the Danish official could not read it. He asked the man for his name, residence and occupation. I knew what the Dane was saying, and as I had learned some Russian since my Siberian experience I translated it into that tongue. Upon my questions being answered the problem was to convey the information to the Danish official. I happened to understand what he had said, but I could not speak a word of Danish. I tried him in English and French without success, but the inevitable *"Sprechen Sie Deutsch"* made contact. A few simple questions and answers, using the American as a clearing house, connected the Dane with the Russian by means of the German tongue. The Russian was the only one of us who used his own language exclusively. The Dane and I spoke German no more than comprehendingly. The Dane thought in his own language, translated that into German and passed it on to me. I received it in German, mentally put it into English, translated that into Russian, and passed the result to the man who needed it. He used nothing but Russian. I received his reply in that language, turned it into my own language, translated that into German, and passed the idea on to the Dane who promptly put it into Danish.

All of this recalls an incident that took place about thirty years ago and had been forgotten. It was probably the first time I was at all impressed by the complicated problems of language, and my mind reverts to it as an illustration that seems almost impossible. I was traveling on the continent of Europe, probably in Germany. In the compartment with me were three men of whose nationality I am now doubtful. Somebody started speaking in languages none of the others understood. As I now recall it he tried to open conversation in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. That makes three languages. Another spoke in Russian, and at least one other tongue that I could not identify. That makes a total of five languages. The third man was an Italian or a Greek; he spoke in both languages, and in Turkish, I suppose, because he kept mentioning Constantinople; he also spoke in Spanish. That makes four more languages, and a total of nine. I tried English, French and German (at that time I knew no Spanish or Russian). This makes a total of twelve languages that were spoken by four men, and they could not understand each other!

IT seems to me that something is lacking in our basic civilization, or that we are building our civilization by much the same methods employed at the Tower of Babel. We struggle to rear it with all that we have except common understanding. We are bridging geographical distance but not mental distance. Whenever there is an international gathering the language must be agreed upon, and then there must be varied and assorted interpreters to see that the members get the straight of what is being said and done. The agreements, treaties, decisions, conclusions, call them what you will, must be made in the language agreed upon and then translated into every other language that is represented at the gathering. The official language for such things is usually French, but that is not the language in which the document will be presented to the United States Senate for ratification, or in which it will be explained to the American people. Will the Americans get the same meaning and sense from their translation that the people of the Argentine Republic, Japan, Italy, Bulgaria, Germany, Siam and all the confused mixture of nations and races get from theirs? And will all these receive the same understanding as the people of France, in whose language the original document was written? I do not know. I would not presume to say, but I have a working knowledge of several languages, which causes me to doubt it. But if there was one language in which all their representatives had a common mastery some at least of the misunderstandings could be fended against at the point where these misunderstandings had their roots—namely the meeting at which the agreement was drafted.

There are doubtless incidents of record where international complications have arisen because of a lack of common speech. Should this be the case they will probably be carefully guarded for political or diplomatic reasons until some one who is more facile in such intricacies than I can bring them to light. There has recently been, however, a spectacular event in the Capitol in Washington that will serve, to some extent, to illustrate the point. On Wednesday, April 7, last, the delegates to the Pan-Ameri-

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can Congress of Journalists paid a visit to the United States Senate, where they were officially made welcome in a speech delivered by Senator Hiram Bingham of Connecticut who, after some appropriate remarks made in English, and after expressing his regret at not being able to speak in Portugese for the benefit of the representatives from Brazil, launched into a fluent and graceful address in the Spanish language. This was greeted with grateful and probably astonished applause from the visiting Latin Americans. Later during the same day the journalists paid a visit to the House of Representatives, and were greeted by Congressman Harry M. Wurzbach of Texas, who prefaced his courteous address by saying: "Mr. Speaker, I shall now, in behalf and in the name of the House of Representatives, express a few words of greeting in the Spanish language to our most welcome guests." Mr. Wurzbach was followed by Felix C. Davila, who also spoke in Spanish. All these addresses had to be translated into English before they could be understood by any except the visiting Latin Americans, in spite of the fact that they were delivered officially from the floors of the American Congress.[1]

There is too much room for differences and misunderstandings. Too much effort is required for the bare necessities of comprehending. Human beings cannot engage in commerce and make agreements until they understand each other, and this barrier is more difficult to overcome than the technique of the business in which they engage. In the same way that the telephone, telegraph, cable and radio bridge the physical distance that separates man from man, so would a common language bridge the mental distance that separates mind from mind, and I think that distance is the greater and more important of the two. My suggestion is not to replace any language, but to agree upon some one language as a means of common international communication, to the end that in commerce, diplomacy, politics and society at large, there would never be any necessity for any one to learn more than that one language in addition to his own. But what language?

Although one would naturally prefer to select his own for this purpose there are some cogent reasons why I will not do so. This question would involve the entire world, and its convenience must be considered. English is too complicated, and too unreasonable in its method of spelling; it has too many words of double meaning, and too much accepted slang for that ease and simplicity of expression that is needed for profitable communication, especially among foreigners. And again, there are reasons that pertain equally in the case of French, German and Italian. None of these coulld be agreed upon because of opposition on the part of all the others. To select one of these might unbalance some kind of a balance, a balance of commerce, balance of power, or a balance of prestige somewhere. There seem to be a good many things to consider besides the philology involved.

From time to time the language of some politically dominant nation has, by virtue of its necessity, risen to almost international acceptance. But it should be remembered that this supremacy was due to necessity and not to choice, or to recognized need for standard communication. For many years English was the trading language of the world because the English people did more than any others to discover and develop foreign trade. Just before the Great War the German tongue was making rapid advances in world commerce, keeping pace with the expansion of German trade. Since then, however, English has regained its old importance, and possibly a little added prestige, largely because of the commercial efforts of the United States. By common agreement French is the generally accepted medium for diplomatic intercourse, although here, too, the growing political power of the English-speaking nations has caused their language to menace French. The point I wish to make clear is that the rise and fall of any language has always been due to the political and commercial power of the country to which it was natural, and this shifting condition will continue to an increasing confusion until the use of some common language is sensibly agreed upon by a majority of nations.

This problem is by no means a new one. There have been at least three efforts made to solve it by means of *constructed* or *artificial* languages such as *Volapük, Esperanto,* and *Idiom Neutral.* But all efforts along artificial lines, no matter how excellent they may have been, have, nevertheless, proven fruitless. It is hard to obtain the barest information concerning them. When a boy I was educated for four years in Russia, Germany, and Switzerland, and traveled in other countries. Three years of my service in the Marine Corps have been spent as an attaché to diplomatic offices, the embassy in Russia, and the legations in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. In addition to this my travels and experiences, both official and personal, have been decidedly varied, but I have never heard of any of these languages being of any use to anybody. I have never known anybody who knew anything about them, and I have never heard them discussed as a possibility for facilitating international communication. Such meagre information as I have on the subject has been acquired by reading, for the purpose of gratifying my personal curiosity. In an effort to agitate the question of a common language I therefore eliminate the artificial languages in favor of some one already in natural use.

I SUGGEST Spanish as the supplementary language to be encouraged in all other countries and for these reasons:

1. It is the easiest and simplest of all languages.
2. It is flexible, expressive and musical.
3. It is already in use in many of the most important and growing commercial areas in the world. (All South and Central America except Brazil, where Portugese is spoken, and that is very like Spanish; many of the islands of the West Indies; the Philippines; Spain itself.)
4. Spain is not so great in the world of commerce, industry, wealth, politics and power as to have the selection of her language opposed on any of these grounds, or for any of the reasons already suggested.

I do not know how such a step could be brought about, but the first thing to do is to agitate it, to get people interested in it. It does not seem impossible that the numerous leagues, conferences and assemblies that are already in existence for the furtherance of peace should make it their concern. It would facilitate commerce, social relations, and harmonious well-being and so doing would help to remove one of the chief causes of misunderstandings.

[1] Congressional Record, Wednesday, April 7, 1926, Vol. 67, No. 95, pages 6802 and 6804-5.

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Romain Rolland

The Iron Net

Since this article was written, Abd êl Krim has surrendered; Morocco is subdued; but the insurrection of the Druses in Syria is still smouldering

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

THE happenings in the Riff and in Syria are only episodes of the great drama of the imperial expansion of the peoples of Europe and Anglo-Saxon America at the expense of the native races.

To judge this justly it is necessary to consider it from the point of view of both the conquerors and the conquered.

Let us put aside the highly auspicious claim of the former that they are serving the cause of civilization at the same time as their own interests. This is generally mere hypocrisy or the mark of a narrowness of spirit which is incapable of recognizing the special greatness of other civilizations. Let us admit that abstract justice is on the side of the oppressed races, who are claiming their right of self-determination. It is from this point of view that I publicly protested with several friends, in France, against the war in the Riff. Nevertheless we must look at the actual practical situation of the conquering races.

This is what we have heard said in France on the subject of The Riff: "The Riff is only a few hours from Fez. It commands Morocco. Whoever holds Morocco is forced

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to make sure of holding the Riff. So long as it is independent and in the hands of an energetic chief Morocco is at the mercy of a surprise attack."

We must therefore trace further back the responsibility for the present events. Why did France go into Morocco? The answer that I meet in France is, "If we had not gone in, Germany would have established herself there; and it shows a very slight understanding of the politics of European states not to be certain that Germany, once established in Morocco, would be a permanent threat to Algeria."

It is then the conquest of Algeria to which we must go back. Can France let herself put in question her African empire, the great and successful work of a century, the only one of her colonial efforts which has been a clear and brilliant success, achieved through the consent, patiently secured, of the native races, and for the common good? Algeria has become an integral part, a necessary member, of the French domain. Nevertheless its conquest was the fruit of a wrong, and to defend that conquest, it is necessary to commit in turn other wrongs, other crimes against the independence of the native races. If the conqueror stops on the road, or flinches, all his conquests totter; all Islam rises. And who can calculate the ensuing ruin not only for France, but for Europe?

In British India there is one and the same problem, even more urgent. It is clear to any disinterested observer that that gigantic possession rests on heaped up iniquities. It is clear that the peoples of India constitute a religious and social personality equal to the highest of Europe, and one which a single European state has infamously exploited. India is moving irresistibly toward her independence; and the noblest of the English are forced to applaud in their secret conscience. But under the present circumstances England draws a great part of her resources from India and if India is taken from her, her whole economic life is stricken; it is a blow at the heart of the British nation. No one can foresee the violence of the repercussions in her domestic politics, the sufferings, the social revolts.

HOW can this terrible dilemma, the death of one or the other, or if not the death, the ruin and abasement—how can this dilemma be solved? It would be necessary, as certain great hearted men, Mahatma Gandhi and magnanimous Englishmen, have dreamed, that both antagonists should consent to make mutual sacrifices, and treat together in a spirit of good will and self-abnegation, of this terrible question on which depends the life or death of both. For their destinies are bound together.

But at the present time even if the pride and greed of the conquerors condescended to the point of making such an offer to the oppressed races, would the latter accept it? I do not think so. Already it is too late. Since the monstrous and silly war of 1914-8, they have seen too clearly the weakness of Europe and the symptoms of its decline. And their own sense of power has been awakened, their pride—Hindu or Mussulman—exalted.

The United States of America can profit by what I am saying of England and France. We know too well, by pieces of information, numerous and accurate, the future tempests which they are preparing for themselves whether from the side of the Pacific, or the side of Latin America. When they wish to avert them, will not they also have missed the moment when they might have done so?

The lesson of history is tragic. Political history is immoral. It has never ceased to be immoral throughout the centuries during which states have existed. Under the mask of civilization, for brutal national ideals the policies of the great Powers practise fraud and violence, theft and the extermination (or the degradation) of so-called inferior peoples. The edifice of glory and wealth which mounts to the skies has been built up during the centuries on a basis of crime.

But, at a fated hour, which may sound a little sooner or a little later, but which always sounds at last, moral retribution arrives, implacable. Morals which have not come to their own during the long course of historical evolution claim their due at the end of the road, inexorably. And the punishment is pitiless, as was the crime. It seems as blind as antique Destiny. The will of the best of men can no longer do aught to avert it. The oppressors have so closely entwined their fate with that of the oppressed that it is no longer possible for them to disengage it without destruction.

The so-called Christian civilization of Europe and America bears on its shoulders centuries of misdeeds. At the present moment, when its conscience is disquieted, it would clear itself but cannot. It is caught in the iron net which its fathers prepared.

MY conclusion, bluntly put, is this: The European world, white civilization as a whole, is heading toward catastrophe. The only chance of salvation is, as quickly as possible, to put the brakes on the machinery of imperialism of armies and of money, to appeal to the oppressed races for their cooperation and to call together a real States General Council of the world in which the representatives of the opposing races present their respective needs and aspirations, search loyally together for a *modus vivendi,* to satisfy their mutual needs, and establish the basis for a new Social Contract of the human race.

I am not speaking here of the ludicrous League of Nations, which represents incompletely and without frankness the will of the governments, not of the peoples, who have not been consulted. It has no real authority, no means of action, no serious will to act. It serves only to quiet alarms, without ever having the power or the courage to attack the evil at its roots.

Knowing the blindness and obstinate pride of great states, I have few illusions as to the chances for such a proposal. But one must always will and act as if one were sure of success; and if success does not come, will and act just the same. The device of the great Stadtholder remains the motto of all enterprising souls: "I have no need to hope in order to undertake, nor to succeed in order to persevere."

A Florentine woodcut

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The Quakers Take Stock

By ANNA L. CURTIS

By twos and threes, "as way opens" the world over, the Friends are seeking to spread good-will. It is their answer to war and the disillusionment that follows war. Could there be an answer more naive—or more splendid?

THE American Friends' Service Committee was organized on June 1, 1917, by the Quakers of the United States. They collected five thousand dollars, borrowed a college equipment, including Rufus Jones, and called upon the young men of the Society who preferred constructive to destructive work to volunteer for relief and reconstruction in the devastated regions of France. The red and black service star of the Quakers had already been seen in France in 1872, and, twenty years later, in Bulgaria. In the past nine years, its wearers have made their way to every corner of suffering Europe—over nine hundred American men and women, mostly young members of the Society of Friends, working always in the closest cooperation with English Quakers. People of every nationality, religion, and political opinion have given money and goods to the Quaker relief work, the American Committee alone having received over ten million dollars in cash, and another fifteen million in clothing, seed, food supplies, drugs, etc.

Now that the material relief work is at an end, even in Austria and Russia, the Quakers have been taking stock and planning their future work in Europe—to aid in material and spiritual reconstruction. As a logical sequence to their relief work they hope to maintain Centers of Good-will in several cities—as Vienna, Paris, Berlin, Frankfort, Geneva, Warsaw, Moscow, Salonika—from which to carry on a further program of faith and works. In France the "works" today include the helping of foreign women prisoners, the most unfortunate of the great refugee population, and the keeping of English and American nurses' aides at the Chalons Maternity Hospital, endowed by the Friends with surplus funds of the French relief work. In Germany anti-tuberculosis clinics have just been established, in connection with three of the larger universities. In Austria an anti-tuberculosis home has been subsidized, and young women are being trained and equipped for anti-tuberculosis work in country schools. In Poland an agricultural school and orphanage for land-owning orphans has been founded by the Friends. In Russia, cooperating with the health authorities, they are conducting clinics for babies and for sufferers from malaria and tuberculosis. In Albania, they are assisting in the brand-new Albanian-American Training and Agricultural School for Boys, and its annex for girls. Among the Greek refugees in Macedonia, about fifty mud-brick villages recognize the kindly sway of the Quaker Center in Salonika, which loans seed, sells clothing and medicine (below cost), encourages weaving, kills mosquitoes, and fights malaria. And finally, two Quaker representatives have been in Bulgaria since April, working among the refugees.

In practically every country where relief was given through them, the Friends enjoy today an almost embarrassing prestige. This is especially true in Germany. During 1925, the American Friends kept in Germany a college professor, one of the Society's leading members, for the purpose of attacking those strongholds of reaction, the German universities. There are twenty-odd universities in the country. He wrote to nearly all, announcing that he was a Quaker, and would like to give them a series of lectures. Not one of them had heard his name before: but he was a Quaker! Doors flew open at the word, even in super-reactionary Tübingen: the addresses were eagerly arranged for, rectors of the universities sat on the platforms, and the students thronged to hear him. He made the word "peace" respectable in university circles.

This is only one instance of the confidence which is placed in the Friends. A German professor said to the visiting Quaker, "This confidence is your capital. Do business on it." That is just what the Friends want to do. How? In Quaker phrase, "as way opens." The Centers in each country are, and will be, in touch with native leaders in peace, religious and social work; their rooms may be used for conferences on every forward-looking question; natives of the country about to travel to other countries are given letters of introduction; visitors are put in touch with those working along the same line. Many leaflets and periodicals are printed and distributed in different languages. The whole object is and will be to increase the spirit of friendship and good-will in the world; to disseminate information about the "better side" of other countries, thus helping along mutual respect and understanding; to cooperate with others who are working toward the same goal; to try to demonstrate, by practical service, the Christian way of life.

Some of the special opportunities for applying these principles of good-will in Europe are suggested in the pages which follow. And the European field is becoming too small for the Quakers. They have an ambassador of good-will in Mexico City. For the last year, they have been giving emergency relief to Riff refugees in Tangier. They are making plans with interested Chinese to build a small model village, "Friendship Village," for industrial laborers in Shanghai. They are soliciting funds and the cooperation of American schools and colleges so that Japanese students can be invited to study in America.

The months will bring other opportunities, to be seized upon as they come. In each of the Good-will Centers are two or three Friends, men and women chosen for their constant zest in spiritual adventure, and backed by the spiritual vision and valor of the entire Society. They are stationed at the world's cross-roads, champions of an unconquerable faith in man.

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Special Opportunities for Good Will

Around a Long Table in Danzig

SEVENTEEN of us, men and women, sat around a long table in a Danzig hotel—Mongolian-eyed Poles, round-headed Germans, one English and three American Friends. So far as we knew, it was the first time since the War that representatives of Poland and Germany had met to discuss their mutual problems. All ardent lovers of peace, and earnest workers for it, carefully chosen for their tact and self-restraint, we were yet, at the first session, too painfully ceremonious and polite for either comfort or safety. We were trying to reduce English, French, German, and Polish to a common language denominator. The nagging consciousness of the Polish Corridor, present in all our minds, suddenly broke into words.

"East Prussia is completely cut off from the mother-country. Think of her fears and sufferings," exclaimed Frau Rapp. "Can they be compared to those which Poland has endured for over a century?" asked Pan Wolski. "Yet *we* are willing to forgive," he added blandly.

Half a dozen began to speak at once, and things looked decidedly stormy, when one of the two Quakers at the head of the table rose. Middle-aged, iron-gray, "just a plain business-man," as he says of himself, Gilbert MacMaster was the only person present who knew every delegate, and his unworried smile touched us all.

"Perhaps this would be a good time for tea," he suggested. It was. Over the tea-cups—and coffee-cups—small mixed groups of Germans, Poles, and Quakers could, and did, discuss even the Polish Corridor with equanimity and understanding.

Twenty-four hours later, as the conference closed, a German again sprang to his feet. "We thank our Polish neighbors for their cordiality and fine spirit of understanding."

And quick as a flash came back the hearty response. "We thank our German brothers for their splendid spirit, and our growing good-will."

Between these two dramatic moments, a joint committee for further reconciliation work had been named and its work planned. One of the Germans was invited to speak in Warsaw (the first such invitation since the War). Further conferences were decided upon, together with the building up of internationally-minded groups to correspond with each other, and make a joint study of the perplexing minorities question.

Then came that triumphant conclusion. We had conquered the handicap of a four-language Conference. We had depended on the spirit of friendliness, and it had not failed us.

* * *

That first German-Polish-Quaker conference was held in May, 1925—in neutral Danzig, because neither Pole nor German would set foot in the other's country. The second conference took place last February, in *Warsaw;* the third, soon to be held, will probably be in Berlin. This second conference began and continued in the spirit with which the first one ended. Free visas were given the German delegates; a large reception to the delegates was held on the first evening, and a great public meeting on the third, while on the second, the Germans were guests of the city opera. Germans, Poles, and Quakers presided in turn over sessions which discussed the most difficult questions between the two countries, as well as planning for an exchange library and for further work by and among the young people of both countries.

Washing, and How to Do It

LAST May the red and black star of the Quakers rose in Bulgaria for the second time (the first being about 1892), when Nancy Lauder Brunton and Ilse Lange arrived in Sofia, and began to study the refugee problem in the country villages, and to organize kitchens and weaving committees for the help of the most destitute. Their last report (up to the writing of this article) brought news of arrangements in fifteen villages for feeding 1,110 children and nursing mothers, and for weaving for 110 women.

"Mongofli is the poorest, quaintest, little forgotten village," writes Nancy Brunton. "The children were dreadfully dirty; they have no soap in the village. Ilse Lange collected them together in a large circle, and we sat on the ground while she lectured them on the necessity of washing, and how to do it. They were wonderfully bright, and would make a fine field for a school teacher to sow seeds of learning in. We left some of them paddling in the brook, and washing their feet.

"We went out to Sosopol, and saw the first kitchen really working. It was arranged in a large, light room, with benches and tables; bowls and spoons had been bought for the children. They recited their Bulgarian grace before beginning to eat, and the whole time they were wonderfully quiet. The teachers say that the kitchen has been not only a material, but a moral help."

Fighting Tuberculosis with Dolls

"IT'S my turn to take Gretel home with me, isn't it, Fräulein Schembera?" The teacher nodded with a smile, as Ilse eagerly gathered the daintily-dressed celluloid baby into her arms, and hurried off, calling back over her shoulder, "I'm going to make her a new bonnet, to-night. This one is almost worn out."

Gretel is one of the big dolls which act as substitutes for babies, and accompany the *Wanderlehrerinnen,* or traveling teachers, on their rounds through the schools of Austria. From them, the children are learning how to care for babies and themselves, and above all, how to avoid the dread tuberculosis.

Day after day Gretel and her sister dolls are bathed and rebathed, dressed and dressed again. Day after day, Fräulein Schembera and Fräulein Auer and Schwester Mahrenberger explain the need of fresh air, and the right food to eat. And the children, who have seen many of their nearest kin brought to the grave by tuberculosis, listen with an interest that promises well in this counter-offensive against disease.

This is a part of the Quaker educational campaign, in collaboration with the Austrian Department of Education. Already a score or more of women, especially trained for the work, are going from town to town and teaching in the schools, or, armed with books, lantern slides and exhibits, are combatting the ignorance of the older people.

The bulletin from the Friends' Center in Vienna says simply, "The teachers are doing excellent work."

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The Quaker Adventure in Europe

An Interpreter Steps Forward

"*HEUTE Abend haben wir bei uns ein Paar neuer Mitglieder,*" said one of the two Quakers, in her careful, incorrect German, glancing around the crowded, chattering room at the students who elbowed each other around the table, filled solidly the corner by the book-case, and crowded the sofa like sardines in a box, while a long-legged fellow on the piano-stool appealed to the sympathies of all. Most of the fifty or more persons present were German men and girls, although a dark-faced East Indian was conspicuous, and a lanky young American college instructor and a solidly-built Briton were easily recognized as visitors.

"We have several new members with us to-night," (the other Quaker withdrew his attention with a jerk from the chess-board over which he and a student were leaning) "and so I want to tell them a little of what the Club stands for. It means cooperation; the students call it the Quaker Club, and the Quakers call it the Student Club. We work together to make it both. It stands for international friendship and better understanding. Sometimes we play and laugh together; sometimes we are very serious. On Tuesday nights, we usually have music, and on Fridays, debates, *in English*. Our program for Wednesday nights varies greatly, from games, or books and conversation, to international addresses. Last week, Professor Elbert Russell gave us a talk on American Ideals, and next Wednesday, we hope to hear about Poland. To-night, Mademoiselle Nathalie Fournier, who has belonged to the Club for the last two or three months, will tell us about The Other Side of France."

A round of friendly applause greeted the bright-faced girl who rose, and hesitatingly asked for a volunteer to translate her French into German. There was a second's pause, and then one of the German students offered his services.

The leader smiled to herself, and whispered to a visitor. "You should have heard that fellow talk about France last year. He is one of our nicest students, but a born and bred Nationalist. He is getting much more tolerant than he was. As for Miss Fournier, I think she is the first French student in the University of Berlin since the war. She has been a great help in the Club. And the German students have welcomed her without question, as one of themselves."

Great Is Nancy Babb

HAVE you ever heard of Nancy Babb, ruler of men, women and children, in the heart of Russia? She is thin and weather-worn with years of service in the land of Czars and Soviets. She has carried even to the Caspian Sea the calm of her native Virginia—but none of its soft Southern drawl or supposed leisureliness. To arrange an extensive fair exhibit, supply meals for a couple of dozen Soviet dignitaries, and give a tea for an indefinite number of Russian peasant mothers—these are ordinary activities for the energetic Quaker lady who directs a farm of two hundred and fifty *dessiatines,* with a trifling side-issue of six hundred acres of grazing land for the herd of cows and flocks of sheep.

"The Totskoe Fair, held late in September, was quite a success," she writes. "Twenty-five government officials, from Buzuluk, Samara, and the Experimental Farm and Agricultural School, came to spend the day, and took their meals with us, there being no hotel in the village. At the Fair, we presented two rooms full of exhibits, including the history of our past work, our sanatorium, hospital, and baby welfare work, our industries, harvest, cheese industry, and the like. Our cheese has proved to be quite good, and we have been invited to bring our exhibit to the Buzuluk Fair next week. Tomorrow, our village mothers are especially invited to a second exhibit of our work, when we shall play the victrola, and serve tea for them, each mother bringing her own cup and spoon, as we have not enough to go around. Our medical personnel will explain the pictures. The contract has been signed, and the hospital will be opened on a co-operative plan. Now all is well. NANCY BABB."

Other items of this job in Russia are the supervision of country clinics and a daily dispensary, caring for more than one thousand adult patients, a village health campaign and the beginnings of health education in the schools. The school-houses of the Quaker district are probably the only ones in Russia which are not hermetically sealed from October to April. Parents are beginning to allow their tubercular children to have an occasional breath of fresh air. The consultation clinic for mothers and children has an average monthly attendance of eight hundred children.

Appreciation of the work of Nancy Babb and her helpers is shown in various ways. A small boy who is treated at the hospital shams sick, after his return home, until his anxious mother brings him back again; the Russian Government itself enlarges the Quaker hospital; Nancy Babb's chauffeur asks for membership in the Society of Friends, in order that he "may follow in her footsteps"; a neighboring district, seeing the improved health and prosperity of the villages under her vigorous sway, sends a delegation to her, with the earnest plea: "Come thou, and rule over *us.*"

Truly, great is Nancy Babb of the Old Dominion.

Rubbing Shoulders at Geneva

ENGLISH, American, Swiss, German, French—these and many other nationalities rub shoulders, and exchange views in the little Quaker Center in the heart of old Geneva. Some of them are actually Friends, some are working in connection with the League of Nations, some with the International Labour Office. Socialists, Esperantists, conscientious objectors, prison reformers, social workers, "uplifters" of every kind, find here a common ground. Young Pierre Ceresole, who landed in prison three times one Saturday afternoon, for distributing peace literature on the streets of Zurich, is a frequent visitor, and part of the life of the place. He is International Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and initiated the Alternative Civilian Service, with which Switzerland has been experimenting.

Like the League of Nations itself, this Quaker Center reaches out to other European Centers, and touches every kind of international and social work. Day by day, more and more visitors come to buy books, or to read in the cosy, well-stocked library; and day by day, more come, singly, or in groups, to ask about the Quaker way to peace, or to discuss problems of all kinds, in an atmosphere which is free from strain, turmoil, and nationalism.

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Casualties of the Peace

By BERNHARD RAGNER

INFINITELY more pitiable than the victims of the war are the casualties of the peace, the "temperamentally disabled" A.E.F. veterans who have been unable to adjust themselves to civil life. True, their number is constantly decreasing, but eight years after the Armistice of Rethondes, every American hamlet has its quota of these unfortunate youths. Although they have worn civilian clothes since 1919, psychologically they are still in uniform. For them, the war is not yet over, and for many, it will never be. Resembling the hypnotist's subject, they react to the pseudo-environment which they mistakenly believe surrounds them. When they collide with reality, accidents and heart-break follow. Were they acquainted with Wordsworth, with him they would lament:

> But yet I know where'er I go
> That there hath passed away
> A glory from the earth.

And so, like back-slidden saints who have lost their haloes, they strive earnestly to re-capture the superb *élan* of St. Mihiel, Montfaucon, and Buzancy.

Every ocean liner leaving New York for Europe has one or two of these A. E. F. derelicts aboard. Every year, hundreds of them come to France, vainly seeking to recover the glorious thrill of war-time days. For them, it is not a joy-ride but a sacred pilgrimage; their motives are just as laudable as those of the devout Catholic who prays before the grotto at Lourdes. They visit the front line, retrace the footsteps of their division in the Argonne, and are disconsolate because they cannot resurrect the atmosphere of 1917-18. Lingering forever in the past tense, they cannot understand why the French peasant has transformed the trenches into so many square meters of waving grain. The war environment is gone; Paris is minus Y.M.C.A. hotels, Red Cross canteens, and M.P.'s. Everything is changed—except themselves. Somehow, they don't fit into the picture. Disappointment and bitterness enter their souls.

In most cases, their coming to France is itself a dangerous, irrational proceeding, even though a great faith, a great hope, inspire the adventure. Too often, they make the trip on empty pocketbooks. Some work their way on freight-boats bound for Vigo, Gothenburg or Southhampton, but eventually they land in Paris. I know one veteran who arrived in the French capital with a healthy appetite, an A. E. F. complex, and ten dollars in his pocket. Even at the present exchange rates, that wouldn't keep body and soul together for ten days. This ex-soldier had a willingness to work but no specialized services to offer; by a miracle he had a job two days later. He was an exception. The others, eternally jobless, form perhaps the biggest problem which the American Aid Society in Paris is trying to solve. Naturally, the sanest solution is a ticket back to New York, but this is a pill which they refuse to swallow. They argue with the doctor; they disagree with his diagnosis, and it is only by patient, expert handling that they can be persuaded to take the medicine prescribed.

For many, however, Paris effects a salutary cure. The phantom France of A. E. F. days is gone; the idealized Paris of the A. W. O. L.'s has disappeared. They have been replaced by the real France and the workaday Paris. Both are humdrum and dull, not in themselves, but in comparison with the dream; and so the peace-casualty faces the facts, swallows his medicine, abandons his quest, and manfully returns to the duties of Hometown, U. S. A. Often, he learns that the Blue Bird was in his American home all the time. But it requires a trip to France to provoke such a cure, and everybody can't afford that.

Others do not recover so easily. They accept the third class ticket back home, but three months later, we find them in the vestibule of the Paris Aid Society again. In truth, the Department of State has been requested to refuse passports to such chronic drifters. What to do? Sermons won't help; as well to preach at a child for inheriting disease. Censure won't work; as well criticize a telegraph wire for the message it transmits. So the progress of attempting to restore the peace-casualty to normal must begin all over again. A mellow understanding, infinite patience and tact, plus genuine sympathy—these are the only implements which have any chance of success.

JOHN DOUGHBOY, suffering from mental wounds, is not militaristic; he has no love for mass murder, but the peace is prosaic and monotonous. That is why, quite frankly, he laments an armistice which threw him out of the only job he ever liked. All of which is understandable and human.

Even certain civilians who accompanied the A. E. F. are imbued with this feeling. I know a Y.M.C.A. worker who, for a period of three months after the Armistice, supervised the distribution of food in seventeen French villages of the devastated area. Today, he is quite heart-broken that the return of normal conditions has deprived him of the popularity, esteem and distinction which his position conferred. Then, he was somebody, a virtual food dictator within a limited district; today, he considers himself nobody, a soldier in the ranks of the Methodist army, always dreaming of the days when he was a department commander. For him, as for many soldiers, the cessation of hostilities meant demotion, and they resent it. They feel as Napoleon must have felt at St. Helena. "But yesterday, the word of Caesar might have stood against the world; now he lies there and none so poor to do him reverence." For the peace-casualty took the super-heated war oratory seriously; he valued it at 100 per cent, little realizing the world could forget so soon. Even the mere fact of wearing the uniform set a man apart; it brought certain distinction which has disappeared with peace.

Technically speaking, the peace-casualties may not be shell-shocked. In reality, they are, since their mental mechanism functions in abnormal, irregular fashion. Their erratic actions and irritable moods may bewilder and exasperate their more fortunate comrades, while the public, cruel or indifferent, fails to realize that they are ailing fragments of humanity, just as sick as the man with typhoid, boils, or

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dyspepsia. Innocent victims of the peace, seldom do they get the human sympathy, friendly comprehension and expert, psycho-therapeutic treatment which their unbalanced temperaments require and deserve.

We do not hold a man, ill with fever, responsible for the stupidities uttered in his delirium. Similarly, we must forgive the peace-casualty the absurd proposals he sometimes makes in his conversation. In truth, his bitter phrases merely reveal the seriousness and extent of the disease from which he is suffering. As an example I may cite a veteran who deliberately refused government compensation to which he was legally and morally entitled, because "I can't accept money from a slacker nation that entered the war too late and quit too soon." Another confessed to me, "Oh, I'll never be happy until the war breaks out again. I am temperamentally unfit for peace." Then he launched into a fervent rhapsody of "the sweet music of the machine guns." A third resigned a good job, because "I can't associate with this bunch of peace-mad fools any longer." Still another, "I knew that everybody is jealous of my superior capacities, and I won't remain in such an unhealthy, hostile atmosphere." This last veteran had the persecution complex, like thousands of his comrades. With Ishmael, they believe that every man's hand is against them. This isn't true, of course, but in thousands of cases, the friends and acquaintances of the peace-casualty, because of their unconscious cruelty or inattention, are responsible for this feeling.

Most A. E. F. veterans passed through what might be called their mental demobilization, during which they adapted themselves to civilian methods of living. Army habits could not be shed as speedily as the uniform. Civilian customs of living, thinking and acting had to be re-acquired. This period, so difficult, painful and heart-rending, lasted a month or two, sometimes a year. For our peace-casualty, especially the one who ventures back to France, it has not ended yet. He is not mentally demobilized. Still under the influence of war-time psychology, he persists in using the war-time vocabulary, every German becomes a Hun, anybody who criticizes France becomes an imbecile, while every person who questions America's motives for entering the war is a damnable traitor. Indeed, certain peace-casualties sincerely believe that the service stripe imparts infallibility to their opinions, and that is why they can be so categorical in their judgments. Example: the French royalist deputy who continually cites his military service to prove that his arguments are irrefutable. But Paul Vaillant-Couturier, Communist deputy, showed the fallacy of this reasoning by enumerating his own military decorations, which happened to be more numerous than those of his monarchist colleague. But, as long as the peace-casualty continues in his war environment, so long will this delusion persist. To get him out of it, that is the problem.

Like Tommy Atkins, the doughboy was the savior of his country when the guns began to shoot, but, if "Throw him out, the brute," does not represent the American attitude, certainly the soldier has fallen from the pedestal upon which the public placed him in 1917. Unless he is physically disabled, he can claim no special privileges because of his war service, except a certain priority in civil service examinations. And still, one peace-casualty grew profane with me because I couldn't give him a job for which he was not at all qualified; six months later, he apologized, just on the eve of returning to America. Paris had cured him. Another, also a newspaperman, lost job after job because he suffered from the same mania as "Mr. Dick" in David Copperfield. I quote from Dicken's: "For King Charles always strayed into Mr. Dick's memorial sooner or later." In similar fashion, the late war crept into all the articles written by this peace-casualty. Whether he was writing about French exchange, or the Olympic Games, or the latest murder trial, the war always got twisted up in his copy. It was an obsession from which he could not escape.

MANY a peace-casualty detests civil life because it imposes duties that the war did not. While in the uniform, he did not have to think for himself. His superiors did that. All he had to do was to obey. He did not have to worry about his daily bread. Uncle Sam took care of that. The army lodged and clothed him. It provided free medical service. It directed practically every phase of his existence. Then, suddenly, the army abandoned the soldier, allowing him to shift for himself. The peace-casualty thinks this was a dirty trick. Personally, I think he is right, but to assess the blame equitably is difficult. A very little of it, certainly, rests upon the shoulders of the rudderless doughboy.

The military virtues which the soldiers developed, in most instances, were absolutely useless in civilian pursuits, as in the case of William J. Locke's Mountebank. And life is not always so kind as it was to Mr. Locke's clown for whom life in a circus was tame and insipid after he had commanded a brigade. He finally solved his problem; he established an equilibrium between himself and his environment, and what is more important, he created an inner harmony for himself.

That is what all these misfits of the peace must do if ever they are to attain the happiness to which their war-time service entitles them. Marriage solved the problem for many; fatherhood for some. The healing effects of time; new duties and responsibilities; a saner, peace-time outlook upon life; discovery of new joys; adaption of self to the daily routine—this is the method by which many have attained the inner peace, which is the pre-requisite of a cure. This is the road which the others must follow.

To give this advice is dead easy; to translate it into reality is extremely difficult. But, until it is done, the casualties of the peace will continue to be in America and Europe one of the serious post-war problems confronting society today.

Philadelphia Sightseers

By RUTH EVELYN HENDERSON

With covert fun we gained the Women's Side.
A red-haired child alone had deigned to move,
His head lolled back to smile, flirtatious-eyed.
We waited till the Spirit should approve
And some quaint son of Heaven should arise
To sing or speak or pray for us to hear.
We sat with comely seriousness, all eyes.
Gently the Silence waited—calm, austere;
Until the smirking littleness of me,
Glancing sidelong at the tranquil faces,
The forms that sat at ease, the lofty spaces,
Went slipping off and left the largeness free.

And all at once I gravely dared to raise
My heart to meet God's penetrating gaze.

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feminists and Feminists

They Join Battle in Paris on the Issue of Protective Laws

By CORNELIA S. PARKER

I HAVE known feminists and Feminists. Never before have I been surrounded with them in numbers. Beginning with the small f's and increasing to the large there is every brand and degree of The Faith here in Paris at this tenth congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. The capital F's make me feel mid-Victorian, which means that I may not treat them with entire fairness. If one of them had assisted God with her advice at the creation of Eve—granted he had boldly progressed to that point without allowing himself to be influenced—one feels the 110 per cent Feminist would have seen to it that woman would be a combination of Amazon, Solomon, and Mrs. Pankhurst. Adam would have soon taken leave of the Garden and no conniving of God or the serpent necessary to that end. Which would have been entirely agreeable to the 110 per cent Eve. And Cain and Abel? The 110 per center hasn't much to say about babies.

Time was when the woman's movement centered about the vote. Some degree of or entire suffrage has now been granted in twenty-nine countries. The object of the I. W. S. A. is "to secure enfranchisement for the women of all nations by the promotion of woman suffrage and all such reforms as are necessary to establish a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women, to educate women for their task as citizens and to further their influence in public life." As years come and go, within such a broad conception of endeavors emphasis will rest now on one line of activity, now on another. There is no doubt where the emphasis rests in 1926. It rests on what the I. S. W. A. terms Like Conditions of Work for Men and Women. By that issue more than any other one's degree of feminism is measured. Let an otherwise capital F waver here—be she ready to burn at the stake for the Equal Moral Standard, for women's full emancipation in civic and state affairs, in marriage, in religion, in education, in the professions—let her so much as temporize the least on the subject of "protective legislation for women in industry" and she is relegated at once to the small f's. Some 110 per centers would rule her out altogether.

If one has approached the subject of equality in industry from a purely disinterested point of view: do women need special protection or don't they, given women and the world as it is at the start of the twentieth century—it is an amazing experience to sit for hours on end in an assembly where very great numbers approach the problem purely emotionally. You are removed from an atmosphere where facts and figures play the rôle, where weighings, siftings, investigations can be considered. Partisanship to, zeal in, a Cause, at present in the field of industry, has become a religion and anything savoring of scientific handling of the subject is altogether precluded. (I am speaking here only of the extremists—but the extremists almost carried the day in Paris.)

THE I. W. S. A. has a standing committee on the subject of Like Conditions of Work for Men and Women. This committee presented a preliminary report and resolutions in an open meeting before the formal sessions of the congress began. The report was based on a questionnaire which had been sent to the auxiliaries in the different countries asking information regarding acts passed since 1923 affecting the working condition of women; whether women employed in the same services as men received the same salaries and had equal opportunities; what posts in the civil service were exclusively filled by women; and lastly if marriage was a hindrance to the employment of women. On the whole it was found that few acts affecting women in industry had been passed since 1923; as to equality of pay and opportunity, legally such exists in some enfranchised countries but it was felt that traditions kept laws from being administered fairly; there had been a concentration of women in the lower grades of civil service and a depreciation of salaries below which any number of men qualified to fill such positions would accept; and lastly, generally speaking, marriage had not been found a hindrance to the employment of women, though a few countries reported a tendency to dismiss women on marriage.

After an objective summing up of the reports received the chairman approached the subject "from a feminist point of view." If economic equality is insisted on by the I. W. S. A. the danger of any special protective laws and separate working conditions for women must be understood. She concluded that the advocates for special restriction still have to prove the correctness of their assertions, that only on the basis of careful investigations can decisions be arrived at, that such investigations to date have not been made.

Taking the report word for word it could be read as a fairly disinterested handling of the problem. It was accepted by the anti-protectionists in spirit and in fact as a document wholly on their side. When a Belgian delegate attempted to read the last few sentences as support of her contention that some protection for working women might be advisable in some countries she was all but scoffed from the platform.

There followed a discussion of the resolutions submitted by the standing committee. It lasted hours. Since I am no yellow journalist, I merely say it was sometimes heated. In the end the extremists won 70 to 38. Two days later, in the meeting of the congress as a whole and again after a discussion of hours, they were defeated 78 to 91.

Three years ago at the Rome meeting of the congress resolutions were adopted:

(1) That education for professions and trades be equally available for women as for men; (2) That all professions and

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posts in the Civil Service should be open to women as well as men, and advancements to higher posts equal; (3) That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work; (4) That the right to work of all women be recognized and no obstacle be placed in the way of married women who desire to work; no specific regulations for women's work different from the regulations for men should be imposed *contrary to the wishes of the women concerned;* that laws relating to women as mothers should be so framed as not to handicap them in their economic position; and that all future labor regulations should tend toward equality of men and women.

At this tenth congress hours and hours centered around an amendment to omit the words I have italicised. For the most part seasoned logic or reasoning took wings, emotion ruled. The very word "protection" was inflamatory and true followers of the faith exploded. If some one quoted women trade union leaders as in favor of protection the arch-Feminist declared the leaders were bourgeoises and out of touch with the rank and file. The rank and file must be treated "as fully responsible human beings and not as a sex." But did some one quote figures to show that the rank and file had once voted for protection, then the same arch-Feminist argued there was no way of knowing what the rank and file really wanted since they didn't know themselves. And besides most working women were anti-feminist. They were old fashioned. It was for the Alliance to lead the way to a new order.

IT was worse than useless for anyone to quote any findings of such a body as the International Labor Office in favor of certain forms of protective legislation. Miss Mundt of the I. L. O. attended all meetings as a representative of that body and spoke several times on the issue of protective legislation. No matter. The I. L. O. was a man-made organization. Until, said Mrs. Pethwick Lawrence, there were the same number of women I. L. O. delegates at their conferences as men one couldn't have an international body of men legislating for women. (Loud applause.)

Frau Dr. Luders, the brilliant German delegate, member of the Reichstag, spoke strongly in favor of protective legislation. Almost apologetically, in consideration of the temper of the assembly, she mentioned that women did have some points of physical difference from men and might in certain industrial cases need specific laws. Point was made of the youth and inexperience of many factory workers, the weakness of women trade union organizations—women would be long years gaining through their own efforts any desired protection.

An English delegate had argued that there was no way at present evolved of finding what working women wanted; that where at times a vote had been taken it was against protective legislation; and that even if women themselves voted for specific legislation they shouldn't have it. Frau Dr. Luders argued that a vote for improved hours or working conditions taken among the women concerned would probably go contrary to better conditions where earnings would be in any way affected; women in certain types of industry needed protection, therefore they should be given it whether desired by the women concerned or not.

There you had the two extremes: If women do or don't want protection they shouldn't have it; if women do or don't want protection they should have it.

And the big F Feminist point of view as expressed by one of the most capital F Feminist delegates—it is more important to be a Feminist than to protect women even if they want protection.

Nation after nation plead and argued and remonstrated. Finland and Austria were for women being consulted, Egypt and Jugo-Slavia were against, and on and on. The chair announced time for five more speakers. Twelve rushed to the platform, each protesting she was one of the five. A representative of the French women's trade unions spoke simply and to the point in favor of protective legislation and of allowing the working women themselves to have a voice in deciding what was to be done with their lives. The amendment to omit the words which would take into consideration the desires of women concerned was carried 38 against, 70 for. Loud and prolonged applause.

Resolutions were voted calling upon the hitherto abused International Labor Office to undertake a scientific study of the principal industrial diseases and their effect on both men and women, and urging a fuller participation of women in the national delegations sent to the I. L. O. conferences. A resolution:

> That this Congress urges that legislation with regard to pregnancy and maternity should be on the lines not of forbidding women to select and continue in their own work but of providing for them such economic and physical conditions as should make it possible for them to give birth to their children in the most favorable conditions

was discussed grandiloquently by a Feminist who reminded the world that a woman was still a human being even if she were going to have a child and should be in no way handicapped. Every woman, said the Feminist with that complete faith in her sex Feminists possess (provided they don't ask for protection), desired to do the best thing for her child. When men passed laws against women working during pregnancy it was with no honest idea of protecting women but to keep them from earning money they would now need more than ever. No men ever concerned themselves with whether "charring" harmed a pregnant woman since men had no desire to char. No competition there. A Czecho-Slovak delegate reported that in her country women were given six weeks before confinement and six weeks after, on pay. Another Feminist, in her eagerness lest anything be "forbidden" women, plead for a state or industrial gratuity large enough to tempt woman away from her job before and after confinement without making it necessary to pass any discriminating legislation. Once you say "thou shalt not" you have the woman under your thumb, and can give her as small a sum as you please. (In the later meeting of the Congress as a whole the resolution was adopted by the narrow margin of 67-61.)

The afternoon ended with the adoption of a resolution condemning conventions and recommendations prohibiting the night work of women in industry (Washington, 1919) and agriculture (Geneva, 1921), but welcoming conventions seeking to minimize night work for men and women equally; condemning recommendations concerning protecting women against lead poisoning (Washington, 1919) and calling attention to the fact that this form of poisoning affects both sexes disastrously. "This Congress therefore demands that regulations safeguarding the worker against lead poisoning should apply to men and women equally."

Monday was a day of difficult and agitated discussions. In the morning came the vote on the application of the National Woman's Party of the United States for membership in the I. W. S. A. The board and

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presidents of Auxiliaries reported against their admission on the grounds that the application was objected to by the first Auxiliary in the United States to be admitted to membership in the I. W. S. A. (The League of Women Voters); and by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; it was felt unwise to admit a second organization from a country where instead of complementing each other the two would be in continual opposition; the board and president considered the methods of work of the N. W. P. to be incompatible with those of the I. W. S. A., especially illustrated by the unfortunate (in the view of the board) press campaign carried on by the N. W. P. ever since their arrival in Paris, to the detriment of the I. W. S. A. It was made clear that the points of controversy concerned methods of work, not principles. A friendly document of cooperation had been drawn up by the I. W. S. A. claiming room in the world for both organizations working side by side but not one within the other, which it had been hoped the N.W.P. would sign, and thus end a rather bitter controversy in sweetness and light.

Miss Vernon spoke for the N. W. P. and gave their side of the issue most clearly and effectively. They made no apologies for their press campaign and considered the whole matter too petty to enter into the discussion. The great aim of the N. W. P. was complete equality between men and women, and especially equality in industry. By the vote of two days before it would appear therefore that their aims and the aims of the I. W. S. A. were identical. There was indeed some friction between the League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party. The N. W. P. temporized with no protection of any kind for women in any field and utterly condemned any gradual methods of reaching their goal. They believed equality, complete equality, could be brought about *now*, during their own generation.

There was a morning of impassioned oratory, of vehement to mild condemnation of the board's action in refusing admission to the N. W. P.—"If the refusal is sustained it will mean that we as an organization are looking backwards, not forwards." "It is a calamity that the existing Auxiliary in America doesn't propaganda for equal conditions of work." There were pleas not to "disrupt sex solidarity" by refusing admission. The vote was taken by delegations. Against admission, 123 delegates; for, 49.

One staggered off to lunch, starved and exhausted. I am waiting for the day when Feminists will argue that women's platform voices are equally agreeable to listen to three and a half hours as men's.

Nourishment was doubly necessary, for in the afternoon came the crucial discussion before the congress as a whole on the report and resolutions of the Like Conditions of Work committee.

As in the smaller open meeting, the heated discussion centered in particular about the omission of the phrase, *"contrary to the wishes of the women concerned,"* and in general on the whole idea of protection of any sort or description for women. Again the French trade union representative plead for allowing the working women to have a voice in the matter. Again the arch-Feminist hastened to the platform to announce amid great applause that it wasn't the job of Feminists to give women what they wanted—there'd be no women suffrage today were such the case. The important thing was to further the idea of Feminism. (More applause.) What was this kind of protection women had been offered for centuries?

Their minds had to be protected, and so they were given no education.

Their money had to be protected, so it was handed over by law to their husbands.

They had to be protected as mothers, and so had no rights to their children.

They had to be protected politically, and so were kept from voting.

And now they were being told they must be protected industrially.

A woman in industry was "an adult human being with her own soul." The best conditions in industry should exist for both sexes. She was not opposed to labor legislation, but when applied to woman only, treating her as a child. More and great applause.

A German delegate, former *Regierungsrat* in Saxony (these efficient German women! If there were ever female mortals who could look out for themselves they are the German delegates, most of them members of parliament or what not, forceful speakers, with brains any man could envy), Frau Dr. Beil, made three points:

If women trade unionists are for protection it is the business of non-industrial women to uphold them.

It was evident some women raised the word Feminism to a fetish, striving after what they considered was meant by that term, ruling out all others with any different interpretation. *Because* the German delegation were feminists they were *for* protection—who was to judge that their brand was reprehensible? The German delegation stood for equality between men and women. One could argue till doomsday and not talk down the fact that woman, besides being a Person, was also a mother, or potential mother. Not all the talk in the world would ever make a man pregnant, make him do his share of child-bearing, of nursing, of infant care. Because women had less physical strength than men was not saying they were less valuable. An orang-outang had fifteen times the strength of a man—was he more valuable? (audible amusement) If factory women had no protection industry could make of them beasts of burden. Through protection they could acquire strength and independence.

And third: Protection was not only a woman question but a problem bound up with industry as a whole and far too complicated to solve by a simple Feminist formula. She ended with a statement that Feminism was no end in and of itself but a means of humanizing the world. (Applause, but not as loud and long as had she uttered "The important thing is *Feminism!*")

An Italian countess at long last and for the first time in two days of fervid discussion actually mentioned the word *child* boldly. The Italian delegation were against altering the Rome resolution not because it was framed in Rome but because they felt that without some special form of industrial protection the children of working women bore the brunt of the suffering. Hungary knew the real reason why working men were for protective legislation for women—they frankly said they had a right to some comfort in their homes and therefore women shouldn't work so long and hard. The United States delegation stood strongly for the Rome resoution, Miss Mayer quoting Dr. Alice Hamilton as in favor, after her studies, of protection. The National Women's Trade Union League in the United States was for protection.

When it came to the first count of the vote it stood 78 for the amended resolution—in other words that women concerned should not be consulted—and 82 against. The anti-protectionists demanded a recount. The ayes and noes filed out separate doors. The count was 78 for the amendment and against protection, 91 against the amendment and

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for protection, or at least for consulting the working women concerned. In other words in the eyes of the Feminists the anti-Feminists won. Gloom. When the world goes to suit Feminists they applaud more than do feminists when the world goes their way. Such seems part of the constitution of all left-wingers.

ANOTHER subject brought up for discussion at this tenth congress was intimately connected with the problem of like conditions in industry. One of the fundamental slogans of Feminism is Equal Pay for Equal Work. Holding that, they are faced with the objection that a man is apt to have a wife and children to support. The way to meet the situation, say many, is the system of family allowances.

The broad underlying theory of the family allowance is that a large family must have a larger share of the world's goods than a single person. How meet the application of that theory? The principle of some form of family allowance or endowment was accepted by a large majority of the delegates; there were differences of opinion as to whether it should be met through industries singly or through Equalization Funds; through some system of contributory social insurance, or by the state alone. It did not fall within the province of I. W. S. A. activity to take any action in such details, since they are entirely matters to be determined by the economic and political condition in each country. The congress did stand however unanimously for the principle that, given the family allowance, it should be no part of wages but a "recognition of the value of the child to the community"; that it should be paid to the mother; that it should be paid for dependent children of women wage earners equally with those of men; "that family allowances shall be accompanied by equal pay for equal work as between men and women"; that all systems of social insurance should include the wives and children of sick and unemployed persons; that there should be a system of pensions for widows and orphans paid by the state. Against the provision "that family allowance, so far as the condition of the system adopted makes possible, should be adequate for the maintenance of the child," Belgium raised the objection that parents should pay a share of the maintenance as part of that necessary and healthy responsibility of parents to their offspring.

There was some general objection to the whole principle of family allowances as leaving out the middle class entirely and applying only to workers. Great Britain answered that there was nothing in the scheme inherently confining its workings to the laboring class. The London School of Economics has instituted a system of family allowances for its teaching staff, and England already meets the problem in every class by a system of rebate on taxes according to the size of the family.

The whole problem, claimed Germany, was not only social but economic and industrial. While it was true that in the Ruhr a scheme of family allowances had not resulted in the dismissal of married as against single workers, that was perhaps because so many single men had emigrated and there was little choice. On the whole the German experience had been that government employes were entirely in favor of the family allowance, but where industry bore the brunt of payment, married men in any time of unemployment were at a distinct disadvantage in holding their jobs. Also a feeling of discontent on the part of single men who felt wages as a whole were reduced to allow for the family payments must be recognized. (Naturally Feminists were quick to remark that they need feel little concern over the attitude of unmarried men.)

Would the family allowance not decrease the father's feeling of responsibility for his family?

Would the father not keep all his wages then to himself?

Would the mother not be told, if there were a family allowance, that she must stay home and look after her family rather than work outside if she so desired?

Would a family allowance not lead to overpopulation?

There were persons present to allay all such fears.

The standing committee was directed to continue a study of the problem, except in one phase which was immediately struck out at this tenth congress. Should the family allowance system include a payment to the wife on her own behalf, whether possessed of dependent children or not? Great Britain argued that this should be no open question. It should be answered at once by a large NO. Such a payment to a wife as wife would make her an appendage of her husband. Vote 24 for continued study of the question, 38 against. Still remaining on the agenda of the committee for further consideration is whether the family allowance system should include allowances for adult dependents such as aged parents or invalids; if so, on what conditions; and the effect of the family allowance system on the birth rate and survival rate.

REPORTS of the standing committees on the unmarried mother and her child, on the equal moral standard, on the nationality of married women were discussed, resolutions adopted. There were discussions on numerous other subjects. Rich powerful personalities stood out again and again, many wise words were uttered. On the subject of women in industry, where it was both possible and desirable to take something of a scientific attitude, most of the discussion was valueless except as illustrating the frame of mind behind a movement. There was scant concern with facts and findings, scant concern lest not sufficient facts and findings exist on which to base judgments one way or the other. It is much more simple to be a Feminist than a feminist, much more comfortable to hold fervid belief in a doctrine which asks no questions, a doctrine capable of development and theoretical application off in a world apart where one need make no compromises with biology psychology, politics, history, industry. Perhaps to be a pioneer of social progress one must be a vacuumist. The commonplace slow-moving world draws down from high places of no contacts a bit of this burning principle, a bit of that glowing doctrine, and what it can assimilate in the workaday pattern of the whole it uses and goes marching on. The "inevitability of gradualness" is a sordid doctrine to anyone possessed of an Idea. Unless indeed the Idea is the inevitability of gradualness.

Feminism does and will react on history, politics, industry, psychology. It can never alter biology by a hair's breadth. Where the ramifications of biology end, how much its headstart over feminism as an influence on psychology counts for, no one can say today, least of all Feminists, who never ask. Therefore the Tenth Congress of the International Suffrage Alliance left one person where she was before: a small f feminist, a large F Feminist-in-Abeyance.

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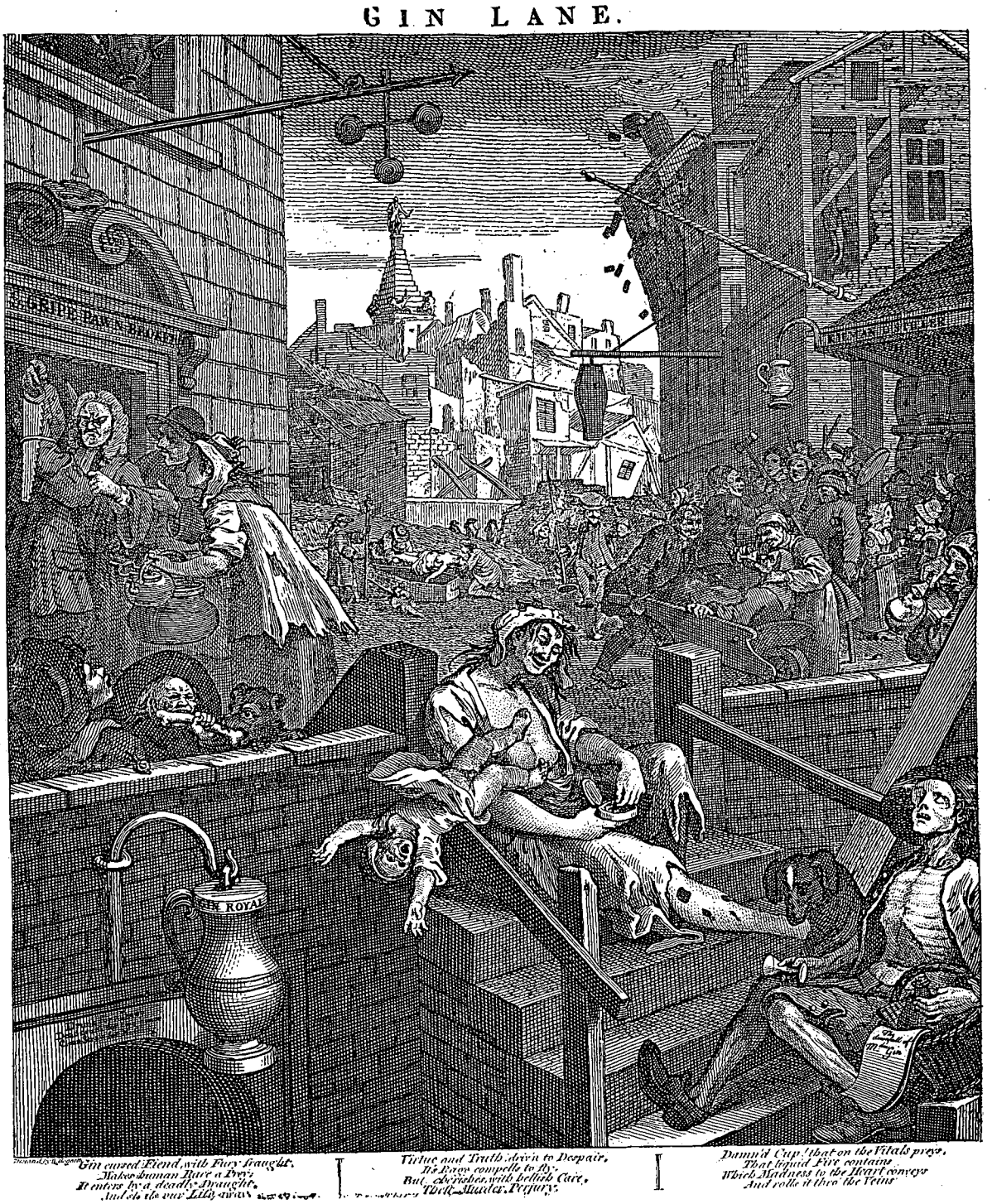
GIN LANE.
GRIPE DAM'D BRANDY
GIN ROYAL
Gin cursed Fiend, with Fury fraught,
Makes human Race a Prey;
It enters by a deadly Draught,
And sets the vast Life-Blood away.
Virtue and Truth driven to Despair,
By Poverty compelled to fly;
But, cherished with hellish Care,
Theft, Murder, Perjury.
Damn'd Cup! that on the Vitals preys,
That liquid Fire contains
Which Madness to the Heart conveys
And rolls it thro' the Veins

Hogarth's realistic engraving of Gin Lane shows Merrie England in the days when the tippling shops bore the sign: "drunk for 1d, dead drunk for 2d, clean straw for nothing."

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Prohibition in the Long Run

By SIR ARTHUR NEWSHOLME

"Greatest among many advances in public health in America," Sir Arthur Newsholme said of our national prohibition policy in the City Health issue of Survey Graphc last November. "It places America facile princeps in the public health world." But the Eighteenth Amendment is only one lap in a long progress toward temperance whose origin lies centuries behind us. In this paper Sir Arthur traces that devious course through revolutionary shifts in public policy and public opinion, past legislative experiments in compulsion which often have failed. Prohibition is no matter of a Congressional session or an American decade; here is an interpretation of its long run by one of the world's most eminent students of health

AT a time when the purpose, method, and results of prohibition are under fire in the United States, it is opportune to recall that the control of alcoholic consumption is no new thing in history. While the American experiment is the most drastic and extreme ever taken by any nation voluntarily in the interest of national health and well being, it is only the logical culmination of various forms of compulsion which have been tried in the past two thousand years, and especially of measures which have been adopted in England and other countries under the stress of war or other emergency.

General addiction to alcoholic drinks probably has a double origin: drinking facilitates feasting and rejoicing, and in early peoples, such as our Danish and Saxon forbears, was a chief method of relaxation; and, furthermore, when taken in excess alcohol supplies an easy method of escape from the evils of a precarious and difficult life and from self, the better self, an escape which has been a general desire of mankind in the past. Thus drunkenness may be regarded as essentially a savage vice, which, apart from all restrictions, should become less common with the widening of men's interests and the reduction of human misery. The same reflection suggests that absolute prohibition is the necessary policy for savage races in which moral control cannot be expected: and for the savage members of civilized communities, i. e. those who are unwilling or unable to exercise self-control.

Wherever men have collected in communities, history shows that such "savages" are found, and that the sale and consumption of alcoholic drinks is associated not only with disorderly living, excessive disease and incapacity, but also with crime; riots and even rebellion historically have had their alliance with beer-houses. Hence throughout the centuries, the control of the liquor trade has been regulated by both church and state.

It appears to have been the sight of so much alcoholic excess among his followers that led Mohammed (died A.D. 632) to prohibit alcohol for the faithful. In the fifth chapter of the Koran we read of "wine . . . an abomination of the work of Satan." There was general prohibition, although in practice there was not universal abstinence. As Mohammedanism at the end of some 1,300 years is the religion of one fifth or one sixth of the human race, it may be said that the sword of Islam has been a chief agent in restricting the consumption of alcoholic drinks by mankind.

Apart from minor royal and ecclesiastic decrees, the next great step in the control of the consumption of alcoholic drinks came with the establishment of the licensing system in England in 1552, when an Act was passed empowering justices of the peace to restrict the number of "Alehouses or Tippling Houses," limiting the right to sell ale and beer to such places as they "should think meet and convenient." Thus, by implication, a great trade monopoly was placed in the hands of selected persons.

Licensing evidently did not secure adequate reform, and in 1599, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, justices were specially enjoined to limit the number of new licenses. In 1589 brewers had been forbidden by statute to supply unlicensed persons, except for private consumption; and in the same year Parliament passed an "Act for repressing the Odious and Loathsome sin of Drunkenness."

In the next reign, that of James I, further restrictive measures were attempted; all persons convicted of drunkenness were to be fined five shillings with the alternative of six hours in the stocks; and in 1609, still further restrictions were imposed. The preamble of the Act of that year "For the Reformation of Ale-house keepers" is significant of the extent of drunkenness: "Whereas, notwithstanding all former Laws and Provisions already made, the inordinate and extreme vice of excessive Drinking and Drunkenness, doth more and more abound, etc." It was about this time that Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, said "not one man of a thousand dies a natural death; and most diseases have their rise in intemperance."

Little or no success attended the restrictive efforts, for they obviously did not represent the will of the people themselves, but of arbitrary authority. In 1627 new measures were added, including the imposition of a fine of twenty shillings or a whipping for keeping an alehouse without a license. During the Commonwealth, Cromwell attempted to suppress drunkenness; the wearing of the "drunkard's cloak"—a beer-barrel with opening for the arms—figured among the list of punishments. In 1654 the London Sessions gave orders that no new licenses should be issued for two years. According to one statement three-

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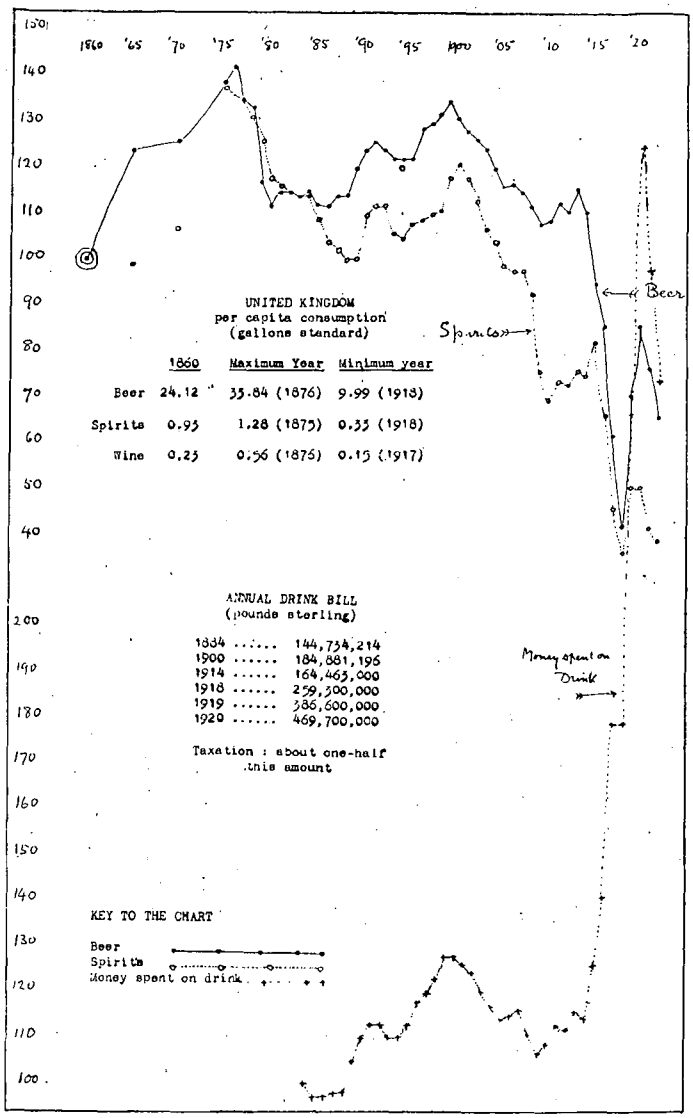

Chart I. Sixty years of drinking in Great Britain

fourths of Londoners were drunkards. During the greater part of the Stuart period the consumption of beer, the chief alcoholic beverage, continued on a gigantic scale; and in 1695 Lecky notes that although the consumption of beer had then declined, still almost a third of the arable land of the Kingdom was devoted to barley.

Excise duties were introduced in England toward the end of the seventeenth century and have never been withdrawn; a considerable portion of the government's income is still derived from this source. These taxes appear to have had some influence in diminishing the consumption of beer, but excessive duties led to increasing consumption of gin and whiskey, and this greater evil was fostered by the prohibition of importation of foreign brandy in 1690. A general permission was accorded to anyone to distill and retail spirits made from English corn. The Government favored the new traffic, no licenses were required, and "dram shops" multiplied everywhere. Often cheap gin was given in lieu of wages, and a general pandemonium of drunkenness developed. This conversion of malt into spirit was most calamitous to the country. The development of the practice of toasting and the growth of club life, as well as the exhaustion of supply of light wines owing to war with France are given by Webb as among the causes of the general drunkenness and debauchery at the end of the seventeenth century. Notices in the shops advertised: "drunk for 1d, dead drunk for 2d, clean straw for nothing."

The better part of the country became alarmed, petitions to Parliament against the evil multiplied, and in 1729 Parliament reversed the policy. A duty of £20 per annum was imposed for the spirit retail license, and dealers in spirits were placed under the same regulations in respect of licenses as innkeepers. This duty was almost tantamount to a prohibition of the retail sale of spirits. The Act led to a large amount of smuggling into the country of Holland gin and Nantes brandy; and in 1733 it is recorded that farmers in several parts of Kent were obliged to offer higher wages, although the price of corn was low, and could scarcely obtain laborers at any price, on account of the large numbers of men who were employed in smuggling along the coast. At this time also the deaths in the area of the Bills of Mortality approached their maximum number.

In 1736 the Government went a step further, and struck a blow which was intended to destroy the gin traffic. Sale of spirits without license was prohibited and the cost of a license was increased to £50. *The Act in fact meant prohibition* as regards spirits. But there was no attempt to prevent the manufacture of spirits; the legislation limiting sale had no backing of public opinion, and Parliament did not represent the people; who, alas, were so far debauched by preceding conditions that the law made them desperate. Riots followed and gin was sold openly in the streets, sometimes camouflaged by the addition of a small quantity of wine, and on Sundays sold by druggists as "cholera mixture." The poor were gin mad and no one would listen to reason. In the next seven years only two licenses were issued, but

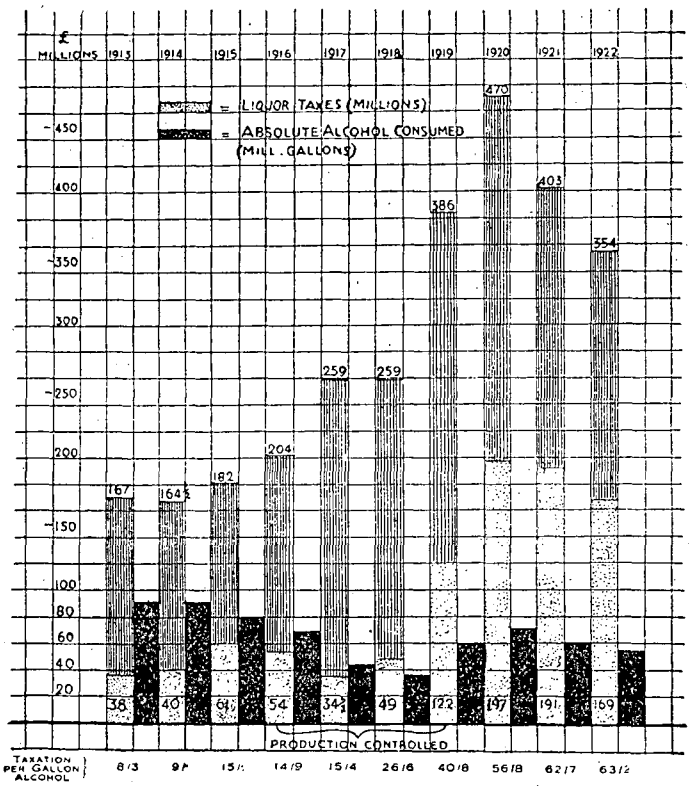
£ MILLIONS
= LIQUOR TAXES (MILLIONS)
= ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL CONSUMED (MILL. GALLONS)
PRODUCTION CONTROLLED
TAXATION PER GALLON ALCOHOL
8/3 9/- 15/- 14/9 15/4 26/6 40/8 56/8 62/7 63/2

Chart II. While the consumption of alcohol (shown black) declined in the United Kingdom under control, the money spent for it (total columns) and the government revenues (dotted portions) greatly increased

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the unlicensed vendors were so numerous that the government was helpless. In 1743 this Act of 1736 was repealed, and the policy of revenue duties on manufacture was adopted, with a licensing fee which was first made £5 and then £1. Magisterial supervision over license-holders was prescribed.

It is significant that parallelism was common between the figures in the London Bills of Mortality (death records) and the amount of spirit drinking. In 1757-58 there was great scarcity of grain and distillation of spirits was compulsorily suspended for three years. It is noted that the deaths in London in 1757 had numbered 21,313, in 1758 they were 17,520. In 1797, owing to failure of crops, distilling from corn was again prohibited, with the result that although food was dear, "the poor were better fed than at any period for some years before." The eighteenth century may be said to have been characterized by almost complete free trade in gin; and all the contemporary records

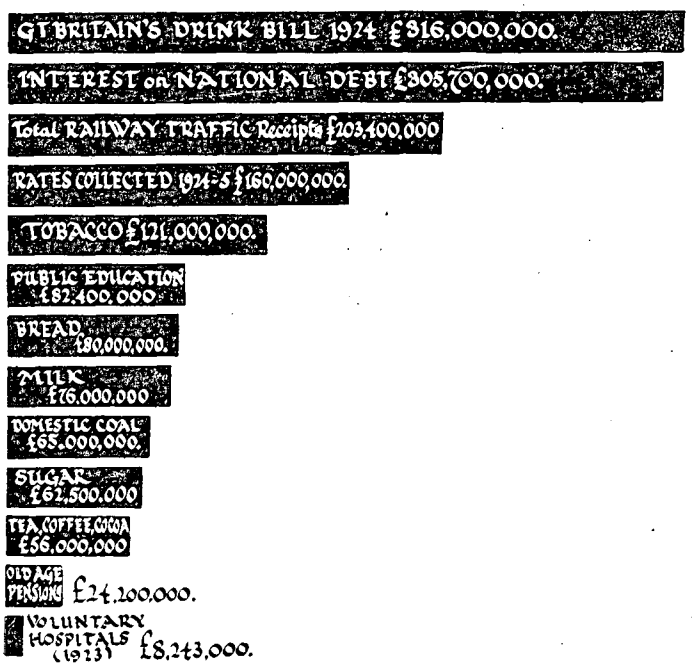

Chart III. The drink bill is the largest item on the list of expenditures in Great Britain, 1924

show the devastating moral and physical evil associated with it.

In the earlier part of the nineteenth century there was manifested an increasing desire to avoid interference with the plaesures of the people, and the statutory duties of the justices in issuing licenses were regarded as merely formal. By 1831 Parliament once more had become alarmed at the results of their policy, which had been substantially one of free trade in beer. Some restrictions as to character of holders of licenses and hours of sale were introduced; but notwithstanding this, as Sidney and Beatrice Webb point out in their History of Liquor Licensing in England, the current in favor of free trade in drink still ran strong in 1860, and off-licenses to sell wine and beer were being granted. But in the second half of the eighteenth century a new set of influences had already emerged which became increasingly powerful as time passed.

Humanitarian and religious motives, largely under the influence of the religious revival associated with Wesley,

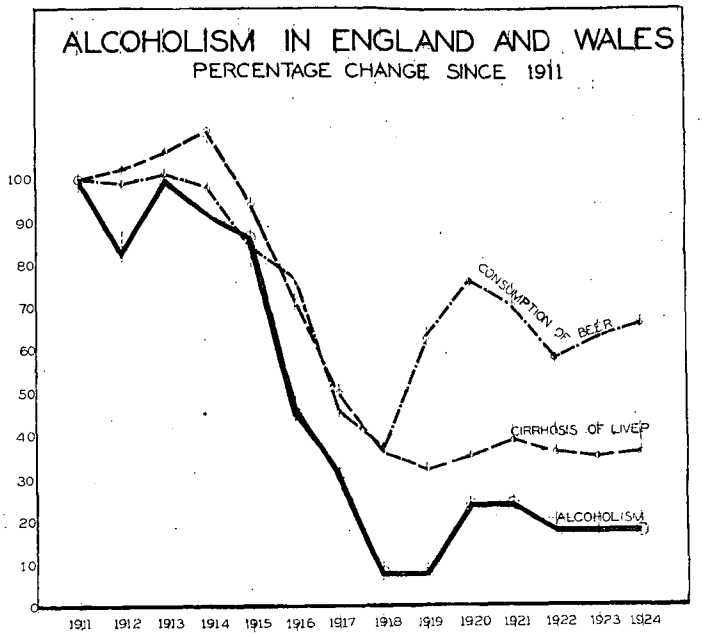

Chart IV. Since war conditions distort the records for men, the evidence presented in this chart considers women only

began to tell. In the industrial and sanitary spheres of life these motives were the means of compelling reform; and active agitation against intemperance found contemporaneous expression. Advocacy of total abstinence from alcoholic drinks increased. Benjamin Franklin, working in a London printing house in 1725, was a water drinker, and in the end many of those in the same works ceased to be "great guzzlers of beer," and followed his example of taking instead gruel crumpled with bread and sprinkled with pepper and a bit of butter.

A general movement for social reform was in progress. Numerous local restrictions on alcoholic indulgence of varied character were attempted; and most of the suggestions of more modern reformers were anticipated at one time or another. John Wesley, writing in 1773, attributed the high price of grain to the immense quantities used in distilling spirits, declaring that but little less than half of all produced was used in manufacturing a poison that destroys the strength of life and morals of his countrymen.

He added:

> O tell it not in Constantinople, that the English raise the royal revenue by selling the flesh and blood of their countrymen. (Wesley's Works, Vol. VI, p. 54.)

It was about the same period that Henry Fielding (in An Inquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Street Robberies, p. 22) said:

> Should the drinking this poison be continued at its present height during the next twenty years, there will by that time be very few of the common people left to drink it.

That there was a similar state of affairs in America is shown by the remark of Dr. Benjamin Rush, a physician who signed the American Declaration of Independence (Medical Observations, p. 63).*

> Spirituous liquors destroy more lives than the sword, war has its intervals of destruction, but spirits operate at all times and seasons upon human life.

* Also Dr. Rush's Essay on The Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Body and Mind, 1785.

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These evidences of increasing realization of the evils of alcoholic excess were followed by advocacy of total abstinence on both sides of the Atlantic, the advocacy being directed as a rule against "ardent spirits," which undoubtedly were causing the maximum amount of mischief. At a meeting of the American Temperance Society in Boston, May 1831, it was proposed by Dr. E. Alden of Randolph, Mass., and seconded by Reverend Dr. Fay of Charleston, Mass.

> That the use of ardent spirit, by men in health, is a violation of the laws of life, and, as such ought to be abandoned by the whole community.

It was further proposed by Professor Hitchcock of Amherst College and seconded by the Reverend Lyman Beecher of Boston

> That the traffic in ardent spirit, as an article of luxury or diet, is inconsistent with the Christian religion, and therefore ought to be abandoned throughout the Christian World.

In 1830 the First English Temperance Society was formed. Like its American contemporary, it directed its propaganda chiefly against ardent spirits, without venturing to throw doubt on the medicinal value of alcohol as a routine remedy in illness. Its relative inutility in this respect is now demonstrated. It is evident, however, that in the early part of the nineteenth century, there was emerging among social reformers a conviction that spirit drinking was a chief enemy of health and life and of the social order, and that its repression was called for. At this time the amount of drunkenness was appalling, and gradually the idea of restriction of supply as supplementary to moral suasion came above the social horizon.

Father Matthews (born 1790) began his labors as a temperance advocate in Ireland in 1839. At that time the known consumption of whiskey was a gallon and a half per person per year. In three or four years, as the result of his fervent zeal, untiring activity and great personal popularity, the consumption of whiskey was halved, and the prisons became almost tenantless. Between 1839 and 1843 he had enrolled six million total abstainers, but the effect was evanescent, disappearing in the great famine of 1847-49 and the exodus which followed it. Similarly J. B. Gough's oratory (about 1855) illustrated the fact that persuasion alone cannot make a people temperate unless it is supported by an educated public opinion, which takes time to form, and by compulsion applied to the minority who are unable to exercise self-control.

The slowness of improvement by moral suasion was followed by increasing attempts, especially in America, to control alcoholic habits by legislation. In 1850 Vermont passed a prohibition law, only partially effective, giving the relatives of drunkards the right of action against any one selling liquor to them. This and a later enactment in 1869, making the drink-seller liable for any damage done by a drunken person to whom he has supplied the drinks, and the New Hampshire law empowering the detention of an intoxicated person until sober, and then compelling him, on pain of imprisonment, to declare on oath where he obtained the liquor, were valuable enactments, which might be more widely adopted with advantage.

The course of events in Great Britain since 1860 as measured by the per capita consumption of beer, and spirits can be seen in Chart 1 (p. 506). It must be admitted that the course of annual per capita consumption approximated to that of trade prosperity, and that the remarkable reduction in the war years and the afterwar years manifested in the curves, although representing much real improvement in social habits, exaggerates this improvement, because it reflects also the position as to sparsity of means.

Alongside these curves is shown the relative annual figures of cost to consumers of their alcoholic indulgence, the values for 1860 being stated as 100 and subsequent values in relation to that of 1860. This is stated per person in the entire population, but as the majority of women and practically all children under 16 (who are three-tenths of the entire population), as well as a large number of men, are total abstainers, the cost in other families must represent a very high share of the total family income. In the year 1923 the amount spent in Great Britain meant as much per capita expenditure of £7.2.0; and if we assume that of the total ten million families only nine take alcohol, the average drink bill for each family is £35 or about $170. It is no consolation that more than half of this sum goes into the national exchequer, for it could be more easily contributed to the government in other forms, without the terrible social harm now associated with the consumption involved in this method of taxation.

The relation between taxation on alcoholic drinks and the amount of absolute alcohol consumed in 1913 and in subsequent years is shown also in Chart 2 (p. 506), for which I am indebted to the Alliance Year Book, 1926; the relative expenditures on drink and other commodities and services in Chart 3 (p. 507) which is derived from the same source.

The gigantic increase in expenditure on alcoholic drinks during the war was associated with an equally remarkable reduction in their consumption; and the taxation which produced this result was, and was doubtless intended to be, severely restrictive of alcoholic consumption. The course of events during the war is most instructive, in the light it sheds on restrictive measures when endorsed by preponderant public opinion.

There is no question that at the beginning of the war and during its first year the habit of excessive indulgence in Great Britain prevailed to an extent which constituted a serious national disability. In this respect English war experience was a continuation of its experience in time of peace. Restrictions in many directions were enforced to promote success in warfare: means of transport both on land and water were made the subject of rigid government control, and during the latter part of the war food supplies were rationed, and their distribution rigorously regulated. The sinister character of the drink trade is emphasized by the consideration that, although during the war it was more drastically controlled than any trade, this control was not exercised with the direct object of promoting success in warfare, but because alcohol directly interfered with the efficiency of the general work needed in the national interest. Under stress of national need the war-time control of the drink trade was carried further than at any previous period.

At first moral suasion was used, but although this was backed by appeals from leaders in the Christian churches and in the army and by the personal example of King George, it had little success. In this respect, as Dr. Shadwell has put it, it was proved once more that "men themselves create their own social ills, and that they cannot be trusted to do the right thing even in their own interest."

Increased price of alcoholic drinks contributed to the reduction in their use. The price of beer rose from 3d to 7d a pint, of spirits from 4d to (*Continued on page* 520)

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English Liberalism and British Labor

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

Like the procession of the equinoxes, England moves on, imperturbably experimental, indefatigably contriving a balance between the very old and the very new. S. K. Ratcliffe, long known to Survey readers for his shrewd and genial comment, begins here a series of monthly footnotes on that march of progress, to be varied now and then by a longer article

THE antithesis, of course, is intentional and purposeful. Modern Liberalism, as we know it, is English—in its roots, temper, and varied expression. The Labor movement, historically, is English too. How could it not be, since the industrial revolution of a century and more ago took place in England? But South Wales and the Scottish lowlands became industrialized in their turn, and the Labor movement as we have it today is deeply colored with the Celtic temperament. MacDonald is a Scot. J. H. Thomas is a Welshman. The Clyde men are strikingly un-English.

Liberalism remains essentially English. Scotland, which was feudal and nationalist, is now mainly divided between conservatism and revolutionary sentiment. No one would dream of looking to Ireland for liberalism. And as for Wales—well, Wales is nationalist and nonconformist, evangelical and romantic. It has been allied at times, like other sections of the Celtic fringe, with English liberalism: but we are not led to think of Wales when the historic forms of liberalism were under discussion. Liberalism, then, political and intellectual, belongs to the English mind and habit; and it is our liberalism that is said to be dying or dead. Its political forces are reduced to a remnant, and a remnant torn into several pieces. It passed through a fresh convulsion at the end of the recent general strike; and once more the sentence of death was pronounced, from every quarter. The feud between the leaders of its two factions broke out anew, and the liberal press, which is much more prominent than the party, staged the affair as a first-rate drama in the midst of the industrial crisis precipitated by the coal dispute.

Now, I do not propose to discuss in this article the general outlook for liberalism as a creed and a policy. That seems to me a great theme, but for another occasion. Nor am I concerned here with the domestic quarrels of the Liberal party, reopened by the effort of Lord Oxford (H. H. Asquith) and his immediate friends to drive Lloyd George finally out of the fold. The effort failed as it was bound to fail. It was based upon a false issue: the attempt to make a test of Lloyd George's stand on the general strike: a stand which, it was plain, was much more in harmony with the feeling of Liberals throughout the country than was the line taken by the Asquithians. They, in effect, offered aid and comfort to the Diehards, while Lloyd George, whatever may have been the motive of his moves, did undoubtedly in effect throw his influence on the side of a negotiated settlement. I note only that the Liberal forces, in Parliament and in the country, are today weaker and more divided than ever. This fact, coupled with certain undeniable facts on the Labor side, has brought the question of the relations of Liberalism and Labor once more into the foreground.

It was, as usual, a personal incident or story which gave a fresh start to the debate. For many months past there have been obstinate rumors that Lloyd George was, or had been, coquetting with the leaders of the parliamentary Labor party. It was difficult to see what there was, or could be, in such stories, since Lloyd George is an enemy of organized labor and is opposed to labor ideas. Moreover, he could only become available to the Labor party by subscribing to its creed and joining in the regular way. Nevertheless, during the uproar raised by the general strike, a story was circulated to the effect that Lloyd George had been in secret conference with Philip Snowden and MacDonald, with the idea of forming some kind of alliance with Labor. The story was promptly and vehemently denied. Let us assume that there is nothing whatever in it. What then? Certain undeniable facts remain, and are being pressed home by Snowden, by the editor of New Statesman, and by various others: and we may be sure that, whatever may happen before the next session of Parliament, they will be increasingly discussed in the country. Let us see what they are.

IN due time, and perhaps sooner than seemed possible before the great strike, there must be a general election. At some time or other the Baldwin government must fall. What kind of government is to take its place? It will not be a Liberal government. No one can see any possibility of the Liberal party's recovering its position, even to the extent of having one hundred members in the Commons. But equally, the next government cannot be a Labor government if the Labor leaders hold to their present purpose of not again undertaking the responsibility of governing unless they command a majority of the House.

What hope is there of their winning such a majority, let us say within ten years? If we look at the electoral map we shall see that by continuing to gain in the industrial and other urban areas as they have gained in the past decade, they may in time hold as many as three hundred seats. That is a bare half of the House. No party can have a majority unless it is able to win seats in rural England; and so far, as its leaders admit, the Labor party has not made any dent on the countryside. It will unquestionably do so in time. But before it can make a serious beginning on that tremendous task, it must develop, not only a land policy, but a rural consciousness and powerful agrarian leaders. Its consciousness is industrial. It is a purely urban party; and it cannot be transformed in the interval between two general elections, or, for the matter of that, in a much longer period.

(*Continued on page* 525)

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Horizon Lines

A Monthly Survey of Our New International Frontiers

By JAMES G. McDONALD

INTERNATIONAL developments are in a churning period. Nearly every marked tendency is checked or balanced by a counter tendency. Twelve years ago European intrigues, suspicions and misunderstandings dragged the world into war. Never since then have the broad currents of world opinion been more confused or confusing.

Dictatorships grow in number, but lose in power. Nationalism in revolt against foreign exploitation or political domination grows in China and the Philippines but, temporarily, at least, is more quiescent in India. France and Spain are victorious in the Riff, but reopen thereby old occasions for friction between Paris and Madrid and between the two victors and Italy. In Syria French "victories" have destroyed half of Damascus, but the Druse rebels are still defiantly besieging the city.

At home Britain is absorbed by the coal strike and the more fundamental problem of reorganization of that and other industries. Abroad she gains a notable diplomatic victory in Mosul and again compromises a very delicate situation in Egypt, but continues to suffer humiliating, diplomatic reverses in Peking and costly commercial defeats in Canton. The French people, fully employed, cynically watch their politicians struggle with recurrent ministerial crises, an unbalanced budget and a sick franc. Germany, the vanquished, enjoying a balanced budget and a stable mark, is resolutely reorganizing her industries to battle for world markets.

During recent months the cause of international cooperation has won some notable victories, but has suffered some serious defeats. Satisfied with the Senate's possibly futile proposal to adhere to the World Court, the United States Government has limited its cooperative efforts to fields certain to escape senatorial criticism. In the meantime the League of Nations has had at least three brilliant successes and two disquieting failures. The balance fairly struck seems to justify mild optimism. But as against the vast weights of American indifference and her non-cooperation thrown into the pan of international anarchy our government has cast pitifully small weights into the pan of constructive internationalism.

The Caesars

THE growing rapproachement between Germany and France contrasts painfully with the flamboyant and jingoistic nationalism of the southern and middle European dictators. But good sometimes issues from strange sources. Mussolini's exultant cries of empire have disturbed the Quai d'Orsay not a little. His flirtations with the Little Entente have only intensified French concern about his ultimate ambitions. Add to these causes of suspicion, France's knowledge that Italians are bitterly and justly resentful of French contempt for Italian capacity and culture, and one can easily understand France's more generous attitude towards Germany. Mussolini may yet make real peace between Paris and Berlin!

Certainly his startling pronouncements of vast Mediterranean ambitions were important, and perhaps the decisive factor in the recent happy settlement of the Mosul controversy. The Turks were fearful of Italian aggression in Asia Minor and the nearby islands. Turkish troops concentrated in the neighborhood of Mosul would be unvailable if needed on the coast. Britain, if reconciled, would be certain to discourage an Italian adventure. In short, Mussolini's threat was both a reason and a face-saving excuse for Angora's acceptance of Britain's terms.

Iraq retains, except for an unimportant tiny section, the frontier as delimited by the League of Nations. Turkey is entitled to 10 per cent of the royalties paid to Iraq during the next twenty-five years from the exploitation of oil not only in the Mosul Vilayet but in Iraq as a whole. Capitalized at $2,500,000, these revenues are to be paid by Iraq to Turkey in a lump sum to relieve the very hard pressed Angora treasury. Thus Mussolini, usually critical of the League of Nations, unwittingly helped to secure compliance with a very important League award.

Pilsudski, the latest addition to the growing list of "saviors" of their country through ruthless scrapping of the forms of parliamentary government, resembles Pangalos and de Rivera rather than Mussolini. The Polish Marshal like his prototypes in Greece and Spain is essentially a military leader with no large capacity for administration. Already he is weakening, and so opening the possibility of serious civil war. In the meantime, from Athens and Madrid, despite rigorous censorship, seep out rumors of widespread discontent and incipient revolt.

Mussolini alone among the "strong" men maintains his position. Unlike the others, he rode into power not as the agent of a military clique but at the head of a small but extraordinarily cohesive party. His spectacular achievements in finance and industry combined with his vast capacity to inspire personal loyalty have given his régime a truly national basis.

Otherwise his radical decrees of last month, intended to increase production and thus redress Italy's present unfavorable trade balance, could have had no chance of acceptance. These include the increase of the working day by one hour, the prohibition of all "luxury buildings"—only public buildings and dwellings for workmen, peasants and the middle bourgeoisie are to be permitted for a year— the dilution of gasoline, all of which is imported, by native alcohol or wine, the reduction of all newspapers to not more than six pages, and the suppression of personal journals. Economically sound though some of these demands are, the ruthless way in which they have been imposed will test, as no measure heretofore

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has tested it, Fascism's hold on the people. The return to the nine-hour day or a longer one will still further embitter organized labor everywhere. The elimination of the "journals of opinion" is another evidence of the extent to which the freedom of the press has been sacrificed on the altar of despotism and efficiency.

Opium and the Hindus

INDIAN nationalism is undergoing a change since the political exhaustion of Gandhi's spiritual leadership. Illustrative of a tendency diametrically opposed to the non-resistance principles of Gandhi was the recent visit of an Indian official to West Point with a view to the establishment of a similar national military academy in India for Indians. One of the members of the mission said to the writer: "The emphasis of our great religious teachers on spiritual values is no longer practicable. In a world dominated by force India cannot be free unless she too develops her own military force." Is militarism to be the Christian West's gift to China and India?

However, there came from India last June an announcement of startling promise. The Government, yielding to native and world opinion, decreed that within ten years "the export of opium for other than strictly medicinal purposes will be progressively and finally extinguished." Thus the famous Calcutta opium auctions are ended, at a substantial financial sacrifice by the Delhi administration.

Rubber and the Filipinos

IS ultimate Philippine independence, repeatedly promised by our responsible statesmen, endangered by recent proposals in Washington? The Filipino leaders would answer, "Yes." The suggestion that the Moro Provinces, which are admirably adapted for rubber plantations, be separated for administrative purposes from the rest of the archipelago is sharply criticized as unjustifiable dismemberment dictated solely by American rubber interests. Similarly the bill introduced in the last Congress with President Coolidge's support to divert approximately $750,000 annually from the disposition of the Philippine legislature to a special fund at the disposal of the Governor-General is denounced by the Filipinos as violation of their fundamental law. In view of these measures, the mission of Colonel Carmi Thompson, personal representative of the President, who sailed recently to make a survey of the Islands, is frequently interpreted as a political preliminary to the dimunition of Philippine autonomy. Certainly the automobile is working against independence. The plausible imperialist argues, "So long as there remains a possibility of separation from the United States capital will not be available for the development of the vast rubber possibilities of the Islands, and the British rubber monopoly will remain unbroken. Tires cannot be reduced to a reasonable price until the sentimentality about a pledge of independence has been definitely and finally abandoned!"

By Rollin Kirby. Copyright N. Y. World

"Now, you shut up and let me save it"

Across the Rhine

GERMANY has definitely repudiated monarchism. This is the plain moral of Germany's first great popular referendum. The 14,441,590 votes for expropriation of the Royalist properties out of a total of 15,685,719 votes cast late in June, are proof that the Republic is unassailable.

Those opposed to confiscation remained away from the polls, thus keeping the total vote below the legal requirement (19,845,279) of 50 per cent of the eligible electorate. But a victory based on a fear to go to the polls is in itself a defeat. How clearly this meaning of the result is realized by the Monarchist groups is shown by the violence of their press denunciations of the Socialists and the Communists who led the fight for expropriation. Particularly disconcerting to the reactionaries is the obvious fact that many members of the more conservative middle parties, the Democratic and the Catholic, the latter against the advice of the bishops, voted with the Left parties.

In industry the worst effects of deflation are over. Though the unemployment totals still reach approximately two millions, most economists believe that they will now steadily diminish. Certainly both organized labor and the industrialists are sparing no effort to regain for Germany her pre-war commercial position. The trade unions, impoverished by inflation, seem anxious only that their members be regularly employed. The men themselves are producing with accustomed German capacity and thoroughness. Leaders of industry are grappling with numerous problems of reorganization and re-adaptation in the spirit and with the zeal of pioneers. Despite the bitterness of the referendum campaign, politics definitely take second place in the minds of the people. The budget is balanced, the Dawes annuities are being paid regularly and the mark remains at parity. Under these circumstances, despite the indirect hardships of the present, Germany faces the second half of the year with confidence.

France is doubtfully waging another phase of the years' long battle of the franc. As these comments are printed Caillaux, the "traitor" of a few years ago, given a second chance within twelve months to prove his fiscal genius, has again failed to save the franc and a new series of ministerial and financial crises has apparently been begun. In any event, France is suffering now the bitter pangs of disillusionment. The experts' report, published early in July. on which Caillaux based his program, is unsparing in its ex-

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By Boris Ephimov in Izvestiya, Moscow
Courtesy of Manchester Guardian Weekly

The League of Nations trying to draw the camel of Imperialism through the needle's eye of Disarmament

posure of the lies fed the French people by their politicians since the Armistice. Grimly the masses of the common folk are facing the slow realization that they have lost 80 per cent or more of all their investments in government and other bonds. The harsh pinch of the rapidly rising cost of living is felt more and more. And the hardship of the present is but a foretaste of the dislocation of industry and the consequent unemployment which are certain once inflation is ended and the essential purge of deflation is begun. France, looking across the Rhine, may well ask: "Who is the victor now?"

The League's Ledger—

THE confusing eddies of success and failure have nowhere been more marked than in the recent League of Nations' developments. Brazil's announced intention to resign and Spain's threat to do so are unquestionably serious blows. But if, as now seems likely, Brazil is replaced by Argentina on the Council after the latter's absence from active League participation since 1921, and Germany is admitted to the League and to a permanent seat on the Council at the September meeting of the Assembly, the net gain will be very real.

The discussions in the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament have been discouraging. The delegates from many of the countries seemed more concerned with political and narrow national interests than with the major objective of reducing the armament burdens. Perhaps those critics were right who said that Europe has not yet achieved that degree of security necessary for such a step. None the less, a cynic might be excused for smiling at the picture of Germany fighting for drastic reductions both on land and sea, while France and Italy defend their large land armies and head what is commonly called "the submarine bloc" in defending the principle of the unrestricted building of these "murderous" instruments.

In brilliant contrast to the squabbles of the naval and military experts are the reports of the League's Commissioners from Vienna, Budapest and Athens. Late in June, Dr. Zimmermann announced the ending of the League "receivership" for Austria. At the same time "Jerry" Smith, of Boston, announced that Hungary too had balanced its budget and was ready to be relieved of League supervision. Charles P. Howland reported that, in carrying out the League plan, more than 800,000 Greek refugees from Asia Minor had been established on Greek soil, and about half a million more absorbed into the city population of that small country which boasted but about four million and a half before the refugees came. Any one of these three international cooperative achievements would have more than justified the existence of the League.

And Our Own

ONLY three major activities have occupied our State Department recently. These are:

(1) Participation in the League of Nations Preparatory Commission on Disarmament. Of this it is too early to say more than that substantial results appear to be endangered by exaggerated emphasis on narrow national interests.

(2) Continuous work on the commissions studying the problem of extraterritoriality and tariff modification in China. There the American representatives are fighting staunchly for justice to China against the selfish commercialism of two or three great powers.

(3) The arbitration of the Tacna-Arica controversy. This has been a hundred per cent failure.

Not Secretary Kellogg but Mr. Hughes, who prepared the report of the arbitrator for President Coolidge, is responsible for this fiasco. Either a plebiscite should never have been arranged or conditions should have been insisted upon which would have made a fair referendum possible. Mr. Hughes' terms included none of the major essentials of such a plebiscite. There is no evidence in the award to show that either Mr. Hughes or those associated with him studied the plebiscites carried out under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Had they done so they would have found in the success of some and in the relative failure of others suggestions and warnings which would have enabled them to avoid the pitfalls which wrecked the whole award. The result of months of effort has been worse than failure. Both Chile and Peru have spent more than they could afford. The relations between them are worse than at any time in recent years. The diplomacy of the United States is ridiculed both in Latin America and in Europe. Despite face-saving declarations to the contrary, President Coolidge's role as arbitrator has ended ingloriously.

A disquieting development, but one little spoken of, is the increasing likelihood that the Senate's World Court reservations will not be consented to abroad. Since they were dictated by partisan politics and accepted by the Administration without consulting any of the forty-eight countries who must agree to them, it is not surprising that careful study discloses difficulties perhaps insurmountable. If this small, half-hearted, halting attempt to adhere to the Court proves futile, the American people will perhaps more nearly realize how small in fact has been their government's effective cooperation with the efforts of those who are trying to lead the way out of an anarchical world.

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EDITORIALS

SINCE its earthquake, even more assiduously than before, Santa Barbara has devoted itself to the community arts through the medium of its Community Arts Association, which one observer described as all five-fingers-and-the-palm of a methodical development of aesthetic opportunities in a well-favored city. Visitors come from near and far to see this group in action. One of them, Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson of London, was being introduced to a gathering in the Little Theater of the School of the Arts early this summer. "It is decidedly gratifying," began Pearl Chase, secretary of the Association, "that these friends who have participated in such interesting work in the East and in England should also be interested in our movements"—at this precise point the building shook gently—"here in California." "Movements" is the polite term for those small shocks which now and then give a little quiver to the Pacific slope. Miss Chase laughed, the audience roared, and Santa Barbara has another earthquake story to tell.

"JIM CROW" property laws, passed by state legislatures or city councils have been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, but the same court by a recent decision implies that race segregation may be legally accomplished by contract. The case is Corrigan vs. Buckley in the District of Columbia. Mrs. Corrigan, Mr. Buckley and twenty-eight other white persons owning dwellings on the same street executed a covenant in 1921, mutually agreeing that no part of such properties "should ever be used or occupied by or sold, leased, or given to any person of the Negro race or blood." The next year Mrs. Corrigan contracted to sell a dwelling to Mrs. Curtis, a Negro. Buckley obtained an injunction prohibiting Mrs. Corrigan and Mrs. Curtis from completing the transaction. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court on the grounds that it involved "the construction or application of the Constitution," the fifth, thirteenth and fourteenth amendments; and that the injunction was void under federal statutes enacted "in aid and under the sanction of the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments." The Supreme Court dismissed the appeal for want of jurisdiction, holding that the constitutional provisions invoked were not applicable. The Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches states that

It is the opinion of an attorney consulted that this does not preclude an application to the discretion of the court by another method of procedure, to review the public policy phase of the case on its merits.

The Commission also points out that

It should be noted the Supreme Court decision cannot be construed as a precedent for an injunction enforcing a segregation covenant other than that such court holds that the covenant is not in violation of the federal Constitution.

Under the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a new brief has been filed, under which the question of public policy involved is placed squarely before the Court. It is hoped within a year that a decision may be obtained, establishing whether or not it is possible, by contract, to bar American citizens of African descent from the security of private property guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitution.

THE story of crime in America was enriched in mid-July by three interesting episodes. A prominent Fundamentalist preacher in Texas shot to death a quarrelsome critic of his public activities, and preached as usual the next day. The publisher of the Canton Daily News, Canton, Ohio, who according to the press "had been conducting a vigorous campaign against vice and gambling and laxity in the police department," was shot to death by an assailant still unidentified as this goes to press. And a New York attorney told the American Bar Association in its annual meeting at Denver that as a nation "we do not prevent crime; we do not detect crime; we do not convict the criminals and we do not punish crime." The speaker, Charles A. Boston, asked with emphasis "Is our civilization competent to deal with its problem of crime?"

If our competency to deal with crime can be advanced by organized public inquiries we should be well on the way toward a solution: another speaker at Denver enumerated one national crime commission, seven official state commissions, two voluntary state organizations, and five city associations now devoted to the study of crime or criminal procedure. Most of them, so far, have concerned themselves chiefly with questions of procedure.

One of the most interesting suggestions for the improvement of procedure was the recommendation of a committee of the Association, adopted by the full session, that expert witnesses be employed only at court order and at salaries to be fixed and paid by the state. If the psychiatrist is to have a chance to play an increasing role in the determination of a prisoner's responsibility under the law, and the

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formulation of a social course of action to deal with his offenses, it is clear that he should be regarded as an agent of the state and of impartial justice rather than as a pawn in the hands of shrewd criminal lawyers. With the movement for a more simple, equitable, and speedy operation of legal machinery all students of criminology must have sympathy, and the preoccupation of the Bar Association with these ends is a good augury. But there will be much left to do when our whole apparatus of justice, which now moves so haltingly, is put in first-class running condition. We may find that our concepts of crime and punishment need such radical revision that the machinery itself must be substantially altered. Meanwhile we shall probably continue to shoot each other up in private and on the front pages of the newspapers.

DR. HAVEN EMERSON'S question in The Survey for May 15, whether the social agencies of America are no longer interested in our greatest contemporary social experiment, prohibition, has met, for the most part, with the response that was to be expected from organizations increasingly absorbed in their own specialized techniques. As in previous years, very little was heard of the whole subject at the National Conference of Social Work at Cleveland. There was, however, one group of agencies sufficiently close to the facts to know them almost without the necessity for special inquiry, and traditionally concerned to work out from relatively small, immediate concerns into far-flung movements of social betterment. That group was the National Federation of Settlements, which met in Cleveland just before the larger gathering.

The settlement workers recognized that they had been remiss in this matter. It is true, some years ago the neighborhood houses had, under the leadership of William McLennan of Buffalo, produced an exceedingly interesting report upon neighborhood conditions as affected by prohibition; but that was at a time when the Eighteenth Amendment was still fairly well enforced and when people took it for granted that it was as obligatory upon good citizens to observe the Volstead law as any other.

Of course, settlement workers for the most part have no special inside knowledge of the machinery of enforcement or of the structure of the illegal drink trade with all its branches. They only see the effects of observance and non-observance; and since many of the workers have been in residence for more than a decade, they can compare present conditions with those of the pre-prohibition days. So, accepting Dr. Emerson's challenge, they decided to set up a special committee of study which, instead of attempting to duplicate on a small scale the statistical inquiry into the social effects of prohibition which is now being made under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council [see The Survey, May 15, 1926, p. 281], would cover those aspects which settlement workers are more interested in and more competent to describe than any other group: the changes in family and neighborhood life which can be traced directly to changes in drinking habits and the operations of the drink trade since prohibition went into effect. Lillian D. Wald, of the Henry Street Settlement, New York, is chairman of the committee, and Charles C. Cooper, of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, treasurer. Mrs. Martha Bensley Bruère, formerly associate editor of The Survey, has been appointed to direct the study, and all the member houses of the federation have been invited to participate in it.

A questionnaire has been sent out to them which asks for intimate pictures of family and neighborhood situations rather than for statistics. One part of the inquiry takes the form of an outline for discussion by such settlement groups as mothers' clubs, men's societies or senior groups with a view to getting at the attitudes toward the observance of prohibition of different age, national, racial, occupational and religious groups in the neighborhood. In other words, the study is not limited to questions of physical welfare but concerns itself also with the more imponderable psychological influences which prohibition has had upon typical town and city neighborhoods during the various phases of its enforcement. The study is to be completed within six months; a modest budget is being raised to cover the national expenses while the local costs are borne by the individual participating neighborhood houses.

FRED WHITIN gave eighteen years to fighting commercialized prostitution in New York, and the fact that when he died suddenly on July 19, at 54 years of age, the cause and the organization with which he was identified had long since dropped out of the newspapers is itself a tribute to the success of the endeavor. The Committee of Fourteen was formed in 1905 for the suppression of the "Raines-law hotels" which had become notorious: Mr. Whitin became its secretary three years later and proceeded to devote to its work the same pertinacity of practical purpose that had characterized a long line of Yankee business ancestors. Through cooperation with the property owners, the police, the surety companies and the brewing interests, the Raines-law hotels were largely driven out of existence by 1912, and the law that had made them possible was subsequently repealed. The vice which had flourished in them sought new habitats. The Committee and Mr. Whitin followed it step by step and helped to dislodge it from one new shelter after another until New York became one of the cleanest of great cities. Only those familiar with conditions of twenty years ago realize what it means to be able to say now that solicitation on the streets is practically extinct, that there are no public disorderly houses, that fines are no longer imposed as penalties in vice cases, and that prostitutes found to be infected with venereal disease are detained under the health law until they are incapable of spreading disease.

Mr. Whitin was far from being a fanatic: he was a man of conservative opinion who saw a clear evil and gave his entire energy and attention to combatting it methodically and persistently. A constant student of the actual conduct of cases in court, he contributed much by his practical common sense and patience to the increased efficiency with which modern courts deal with commercialized prostitution. He leaves many friends—not least among the police force and judiciary of New York with whom he worked for the public good.

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

THE awards of the Holstein and Pushkin prizes to Negro writers and composers, under the auspices of Opportunity, that vigorous journal of Negro life, proved even more heartening this year than last. Best of all they inspired more Negro writing, with 1,276 entrants this year against 732 in 1925. The many new names listed show that Negro talent is not the possession of a small clique. Charles S. Johnson, editor of Opportunity, writes: "Only one who is privileged to examine the complete mass of entries can know how deep-lying is this artistic awakening." The names on the juries were inspiring evidence of how warm a sympathy American critics and creators feel for this new Negro culture for they included Robert Frost, Vachel Lindsay, Van Wyck Brooks, David Belasco, Zona Gale, Stuart Sherman, Frank Damrosch and David Mannes. And their reports told how they had been moved by the stark strivings as well as by the real achievement they had discovered. John Macy, who presided at the Award Dinner in New York, welcomed the contestants into "the most democratic and the most aristocratic society in the world . . . that great freemasonry which knows nothing of color, race, and creed, except the cult of beauty and wisdom. . . . We rejoice because *good work* has been done, not that good work has been done by *Negroes!*" And he told how the manuscripts revealed "frankness, honesty, and sincerity. . . . The prevailing attitude was neither apologetic nor hostile, but simply self-respecting."

Letters & Life has no room to prove the excellence of the work by reprinting. You can get them all in Opportunity for June and July from the National Urban League, 127 East 23d Street, New York. But here is one little refrain to prove these were authentic Negro voices:

Huh! de wurl' ain't flat
An' de wurl' ain't roun'
Jes' one long strip
Hangin' up an' down.
Since Norf is up
An' Souf is down,
An' Hebben is up,
I'm upward boun'.

This Northboun' by Lucy Ariel Williams divided the Poetry Prize with Waring Cunor's No Images. The Pushkin Poetry prize went to Arna Bontemps' Golgotha Is a Mountain. Arthur Huff Fauset took first in the story section with Symphonesque and in essays with Segregation. Sugar Cain by Frank H. Wilson was the prize play; and John Matheus got an award for his personal experience sketch, Sand. Edmund Jenkins got the first and second awards in music for his African War Dance and Sonata in A Minor. Prizes for Constructive Journalism were also awarded this year by the Empire State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.

That dinner was a glory for the thousand or more Negroes there, the prize-winners and their loving admirers. It was warm with good hope for the serious friends of Negro art. But there was a third element to which both the others need give serious thought, namely, the profiteers and parasites of a cult. There were those with an axe to grind, seekers after commercial, or social or literary aggrandizement. The new Negro in art and music has been made in part a fad. You can mount the band-wagon and get in the lime-light by protesting an interest in and understanding of the Negro that has not been proven by anything but lip-service. There was the publisher seeking a manuscript that would catch this current whim; and the director of an experimental theatre after a play that might make talk among the ultra. There were the short-story tellers getting local color; the technicians thereof desirous of publicity; and the dilettantes who exploit black lions at their jazz *salons*. One minor poet rebuked the Negro boys and girls who sang spirituals because he didn't approve of Christ! He seemed deaf, dumb and blind to the soul of this Negro art. There were the literary slummers who just wanted a new thrill. There were those sad pilgrims who want to borrow the Negro's emotions. They want his songs to stir in their dessicate souls those elemental emotions they can not feel themselves. They forget that to feel like a Negro you have to work and suffer and love and pray like a Negro. They do none of these. This sorry crew are not important in themselves. Next year they will be flittering round the candle of some new fad. But they may misguide the Negro for a time unless he can steel himself in anger or wrap himself in his own guffaws against their flattery, false witness, and bribes. It would be the final tragedy if after exploiting the Negro's body for two centuries we ended by exploiting his heart and soul.

So it is good to know that the Negro needs no interpreter now, whether an honest or an insincere one. The promise of a second edition of that fertile book, The New Negro, gives us a text for repeating this.

He speaks for himself. This volume was edited by a Negro, Alain Locke, and most of its contents is the work of Negroes, poets and story-tellers, historians of the past of the race, social interpreters of its present, and prophets of its future. It is an encyclopedia of the Negro as an artist and as a living member of American society; it is comprehensive, full of passion and faith, brimming with fact and new viewpoints, and starkly clear in its revelation that there is a "new Negro," keenly and naturally at times bitterly aware of himself and his place in our civilization. Whoever is interested in race and what each race has to give to life must read this book.

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Nor is it alone in proving that the Negro has found his voice. He is giving us year by year more books of revelation, self-scrutiny, and artistic promise. They are not all good books, but they are his own—so that we do not have to take him second hand. He stands or falls by himself. At last we can measure how far and fast he has come and estimate what powers are hidden within him. His case henceforth rests on a fact, not a sentiment, basis. No longer need the Negro depend on reaching us either through the good will of a patron, or the intervention of an often prejudiced reporter. He simply is—and here are his fruits. Judge them as you do any offerings in the market place.

IF we do judge by such criteria as transcend race, and refuse to yield to a welling desire to shout huzzas of praise born of liberal enthusiasm, humanitarian sympathy, or educational zeal, we find, I think, two failures in The New Negro. First, it claims too much for the Negro as a present artist; second, it seems willing to sacrifice the indubitable native gifts of the African for a mere equalitarianism in the culture and society of the whites. It presents its inheritance of which rightly it is so proud as a credential that it may join a tradition and share a mode of life that will deflower and murder that inheritance with the noiseless efficiency of its own machines. The very articulateness of the Negro at the moment in the white medium seems token enough that he is losing his African soul.

As an artist the Negro claims roots in African folk-lore and plastic arts. He asserts that his spirituals are the only American folk-music, and his jazz rhythms America's only original contribution to world music. He seems right here, for his race possesses a sense of rhythm and a religious emotionalism that the white has lost, if he ever possessed them. It is a priceless restoration of a gift that we need and humbly welcome. But for his literature he claims too much. This is natural for he is still in the position of making a case, and one does not make a case by understatement. The literary section of The New Negro discloses much nascent talent and is rich in promise, but it does not offer artistic achievement of first-rate. Far different from what he could do scarcely a generation ago, and far better, it is still not better than the present average in its kind. It may be as good, yet one cannot get tremendously exercised over the fact that to the innumerable white minor poets we now add some equally tuneful black minor poets. Whether the Negro's swift success here means some absolute contribution to culture in the future remains a matter of hope. We do all eagerly hope so, but that hope runs slight chance of being realized if we mislead the Negro that he has already done more than he has, and endow him with the disastrous psychology of the precocious child. For from that precise evil he is seeking his later emancipation. The best that we can do is to take down every bar to his expression as an artist, and let him voice himself in competition with his peers, without fear of being punished or patronized.

Are there bars to his art expression? There is a double standard geographically, of course—in the North, in the South. But the South is less interested in the Negro as artist than in the Negro as economic force or social threat. The South neglects art criteria; the native would not feel his status of superiority endangered by a great Negro poet or a great Negro sculptor unless the art itself was a racial propaganda—as very likely it might be. Indeed, in justice, the South never estopped the Negro's expression in its natural vehicles. It fostered his church where the spirituals were born; it danced and sang to his banjo and mouth-harp whence his jazz descended; it listened with bated breath to his ballads and folk-lore tales. It ever permitted him to solace his toil with musical chants. I heard Polk Miller's four Negroes from the cotton-field and tobacco-factory sing spirituals and quartettes to white audiences in Virginia years ago before the Broadway sophisticates who now make spirituals the vogue were even born. Polk Miller was a white druggist from Richmond. I don't think the South was self-conscious about it, or in the least tolerant in our modern sense, but it at least provided a kindly and approving environment in which the Negro could be gay or sad, and sing his gay sad songs.

Of the various media, print is already wide open to the Negro. There is even a kind of symbolism in the fact that print needs both black and white. If the Negro writer has anything lovely or inspiring to say, I don't believe any one will judge it by the author's color, or even know that color—unless indeed he remembers it too often in his work. Countée Cullen, the young Negro lyrist, is a case in point. His poems were welcomed in the best magazines simply on their merit, and he won his place in the Wytter Bynner poetry prize without any questions asked. Freedom of speech for the propagandist is slower in coming, but then propaganda is not the artist's prime concern. The New Negro itself is the finest sort of propaganda, yet it found a publisher without trouble. The Negro composer suffers no censorship, nor does the concert singer unless in the South. Indeed, if he be great enough he exercises a kind of coercion through his gift to lift the status of other Negroes. One of the leading Negro tenors was booked to sing in a city best described as on the main-line between New York and Washington. He made a proviso that his race be admitted to the concert without discrimination. When he came to the hall he found there had been discrimination to the extent that the Negroes had been sold seats in solid blocks together and so separated from the whites. He refused to sing.

On the stage, the Negro has never had any trouble so long as he was a mere amuser. His minstrel shows were welcome even South of Mason and Dixon's line, and Bert Walker was everybody's favorite on the stage though I recall he did suffer social distinctions elsewhere. Nobody objects to Negro revues. In straight drama, I believe the white audience will express its biological antagonism to black and white casts that mix the sexes. Even in New York when Eugene O'Neill's All God's Chillun Got Wings was put on there was some opposition to having a Negro play master to a white wife; and in few places could we offer a black Othello, whatever the success of that in England. The stage reveals intimate relations between both the characters and the real actors that do not appeal to American audiences, North or South. Incidentally, in another art, baseball, did you ever see a Negro player in the big Leagues? The New Negro records scarcely show half a dozen names of Negro sculptors or painters, so freedom is not yet an issue, but I believe that the juries of our exhibitions and our gallery audiences would generally accept any Negro works submitted simply on their merits. True lovers of art do not care whether beauty come from the Chinese, the Nordic, or the Negro.

But the question remains—will the freedom almost won help the Negro to preserve his soul? Arthur Fauset in his illuminating essay finds in Negro folk literature three domi-

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nant characteristics: "lack of the self-conscious element found in ordinary literature; nearness to nature; universal appeal." That describes his jazz, and the spirituals, too, if we put God in place of Nature. But they did not come from the "new Negro." The latter is raw with self-consciousness. Read this volume for proof. He is no longer near nature, but in Harlem, New York City, which I dare say is as far from Nature as any place in the world. His songs and dances have a universal appeal, surely, but as the offerings of a dance band or the black-face comedian. The art and gift of the new Negro is not universal; quite otherwise, nobody ever heard of it save a coterie. It is the art and gift of the old Negro that America loves.

That art is vanishing faster than any other culture in America, even the dying ritualism of the Jew. The Negro came from the earth, Africa via Alabama. He is leaving the soil. He was naive in passion and soul. He is becoming sophisticated. He lived in a tribe with folkways. He has come to live in a herd, regimented, machine-ridden, sapped of joy, like the rest of the herd. Is he likely to show such unbounded strength as to keep his gift where the Italian has flung away her shawl and the Jew shaves? Who hears a Negro sing in the streets of New York as once sang the crafee-sh criers, or the water-melon peddlers from their high-wheeled Hanover County carts in Richmond town? *O Sole Mio* rises sometimes over the blurr of the L, in Italian, but I never hear Po' Mounah, You Shall Be Free as once I used to hear it in Albemarle when the amethyst dusk stole down off the Blue Ridge and the boy on the grocery-cart crooned himself home to corn-bread and chitlins.

It would be God's blessing if the new Negro could sing us awake again. But he seems to me to pursue a paradox: he wants to live like a white man and sing like a Negro. He is talking art and meaning civil rights. He has in reality fallen silent, and is remembering to keep his courage up in the new stillness. He is gambling his lyre for a mess of pottage. LEON WHIPPLE

THE NEW NEGRO, edited by Alain Locke. Illustrations by Winold Reiss. *Albert and Charles Boni. 446 pp. Price $5 postpaid of The Survey.*

Machine Made

NOW there are two things you can do with folk lore—tales and ballads and spirituals and such: you can enjoy them as you enjoy a wood thrush at dusk; and you can humbly pass them on *au naturel* for others' joy. I was tempted to say, thirdly, you can try to preserve the surroundings and spirit that made them, but that's foolishness. Folk lore is born wild, not incubated by breeders. So to dress these gifts up and interpret them seems impudent. They are to be taken raw, without emendations or scholia. Yet here we are writing and writing about Negro songs and mountaineer tales (I am obviously guilty) and making clinical sociology out of what should be pure pleasure. We want anthologies, not doctors' theses.

In Negro Workaday Songs, Howard Odum and Guy Johnson, of the social science branches at the University of North Carolina, have done us a fine service in their painstaking collection and preservation of the Negro's lay songs—the original blues, bad man ballads, songs of the lonesome road, of jail and chain gang, of white man and captain, and cycles by black troubadours. Their comment, if not essential, is happily brief, and often illuminating. It is fun to see how the Negro invented the Blues out of his

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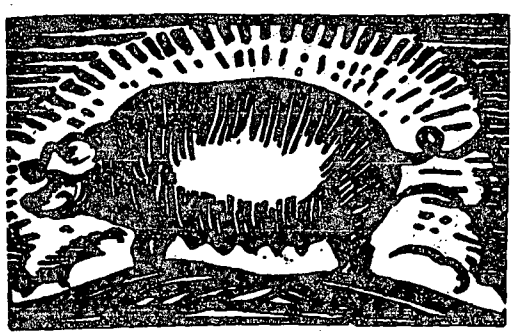
own weariness; then they sang themselves into the heart of the nation via the phonograph, and now, civilized, they are taken back by their creater to be remolded again according to his whim and heart's desire. It is cheering to learn from experts that "It is quite probable that more spirituals are being made to-day than during the days of slavery. . . . Among the lowly Negro folk of the South the making of spirituals is still a reality. Every community has its 'composers' . . . often supposed to possess some special gift of the spirit." There is a bully chapter on John Henry, the black Paul Bunyan, who tossed a noble sledge-hammer, and is described:

> John Henry was a steel-drivin' man,
> Carried hammer all time in his han'
> Befo' he let you beat him down
> He'd die wid de hammer in his han'.

But there is a final chapter that reverts to type with a thud. It is called Types of Phono-Photographic Records of Negro Singers—and what in the world has *that* to do with a weary Negro moaning to cheer his soul at the end of a hoe handle? Here is a miniature case of how the machine threatenes the Negro. You can show him a chart with a wavy black line, and tell him Providence of the sun of equatorial Africa or the 14th Amendment has given him more *vibrato* than a white man's voice—and what then? Mebbe so 'tis and mebbe so 'taint. The more he looks at his *vibrato* the less he'll have of it to tear our souls.



From Tall Tales of the Kentucky Mountains by Percy MacKaye, Doran.

THE MOUNTAIN HAWG

PERCY MACKAYE'S volume proves how an outlander can travel around through the Kentucky mountains with a fiddler and gather a lot of Tall Tales about a sort of Appalachian Paul Bunyan, called Solomon Shell "the tale-tellin'dest deevil-charmer, topground or under" into a Munchausen-like book that is amusing enough, and yet by a kind of finicky artifice of language and design produces a pawky Brummagen effect without a smell of sweat or earth on a page of it. This poet who produces historical pageants hasn't an ounce of faith in raw folk stuff. He does not understand the veracity of the soil. He prettifies everything. He is literate to the nth degree. Imagine Boccacio or Rabelais or Uncle Remus writing—

> Whatever the authenticity of these ascriptions. Sol's own fable-versions already had taken on a diversity of mutations in the re-tellings of his far-scattered neighbors, who—in rendering their respectful homage to a name grown legendary—were equally assiduous in grafting the live bark of legend with new shoots.

Machine-made, yes? The tales are better, and often amusing by their fantasy, invention, or spurts of humor. But they haven't the Homeric sweep of Paul Bunyan; they don't get the bitter swing of the seasons and the grim battle with trees and rocks. They do introduce one real person, though, and we'd like more of him, the Southern mountain hawg. Hog-tales of fat and littery sows sound real. I reckon Mr. MacKaye has every single phrase he uses jotted down in his note-book (though some of them seem mighty strange) but the total effect is remarkably unreal. The book is synthetic stuff, not native moonshine. It sounds suspiciously like somebody from Vermont or such a place, recording Southern folk-lore. I prefer the phonograph. L. W.

NEGRO WORKADAY SONGS, *by Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson. University of North Carolina Press. 278 pp. Price $3 postpaid of The Survey.*

TALL TALES OF THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS, *by Percy MacKaye. Doran. 185 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

PROHIBITION IN THE LONG RUN

(*Continued from page* 508)

14d a glass. This explains why, although the estimated *per capita* consumption of proof spirit in 1922 was 38 per cent lower than in 1914, the estimated average expenditure for each man, woman and child increased in the same period from £3.10.10 to £7.9.0 a year. This increase in cost must have affected consumption, notwithstanding the greater abundance of money among non-enlisted men and among women.

The restriction of the supply of alcoholic drinks was, however, a more important factor. This was brought about gradually. First, in November, 1914, came an increased war tax on beer. "Treating" of any members of the fighting forces was prohibited; and the hours of sale in public houses were curtailed. By an Act passed in May 1915 the control of the liquor trade was transferred to a Central Board acting for the Government and endowed with drastic powers. The most important lines of action taken by this Board were: the drastic reduction of the hours of sale in public houses; the application of public house rules to clubs; the dilution of spirits; the restriction of the hours when spirits could be sold; and the prohibition of "treating" for civilians as well as for sailors and soldiers, except in conjunction with meals.

The following scheme sets out some of the main restrictions imposed by the Central Control Board. Some of these were gradually introduced, and the statement is not complete, but indicates the general scope of the measures which were taken.

Before the War	During the War
Hours of Sale:	
in towns outside London 17 hrs. in 24	5½ hrs. in the 24
in London 19½ hrs.	2½ hrs. midday, and 3 in evening. Closing at 9:30 p. m.
Sunday closing:	
England, except for 7 hrs. Wales and Scotland, all day	General Sunday closing and no sale to travelers or in clubs
Lowered alcoholic strength:	
Whiskey, brandy and gin not less than 25° underproof Gin 25°	All spirits must be 30° underproof permitted to be 50°
Conditions of Sale:	
No restrictions except for children	Treating prohibited. Prohibition of sale on credit

Allusion has already been made to the enormous increase in price of alcoholic drinks, which is illustrated in Chart 1. There was also a drastic reduction of the total supply of alcohol available for consumption, which occurred independently of the Control Board, as the result of direct state action and of the intervention of the Food Controller.

Although all these measures conduced to the desired end, there can, I think, be little doubt that this increased price of drink and still more its strictly limited supply had a chief share in producing the increased sobriety of the war period. But the restriction of hours of sale, which led to a limitation of sales to not more than 5½ hours daily throughout the country, was also an immense aid to efficiency of work and to domestic prosperity. The hours of sale were fewer than on Sundays prior to the war; and their carefully devised distribution meant the cessation of forenoon drinking, while the afternoon closure and the earlier evening closure diminished the temptation and opportunities for the chronic toper. The prohibition of "treating" also bore a part in the general beneficent result.

What was the effect of these drastic restrictions?

Any statistical statement for men must necessarily be of dubious value as several millions of men were under military or naval discipline. We must therefore obtain evidence from the experience of women, who it must be borne in mind, were engaged in exhausting industrial and clerical or nursing work to which a high proportion of them were totally unaccustomed.

This evidence is summarized in Chart 4, in which curves are shown of the annual death rates from cirrhosis of the liver (a disease generally accepted as most often resulting from alcoholism) and from acute and chronic alcoholism among women, reduced to relative figures by giving the death rate in the year

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1911 in each case as 100, and stating the death rate in each subsequent year in proportion to this. By this means it becomes possible, without distortion, to compare these two curves with the curves similarly treated showing the annual consumption of beer per capita and the annual number of convictions for drunkenness in women. The convictions for drunkenness decreased somewhat more than the consumption of beer; but both these curves and the death rates from disease due especially to alcoholic excess, show a remarkable drop during the year of war. Since the war the disease curves have risen again with relaxed trading conditions, though they are rising more slowly than the curves for drinking.

The sequence of events in the war, confirming as it does the effect of restrictions previously imposed whenever backed by an adequate force of public opinion, makes it impossible to avoid the conclusion that a nation can be made relatively sober by legally enforced restrictions. In Dr. Shadwell's words* the record of events during the war, "furnishes fresh proofs of the need of control in the public interests." It furthermore gives valuable guidance as to the possibilities and methods of control which will carry with them an increasing volume of public opinion.

The course of events since the war cannot be regarded as entirely satisfactory. There has been some relaxation of hours during which public houses are open; treating is no longer forbidden; and beer has been cheapened. Slowly, apparently with some hesitation, the curves of convictions for drunkenness and of deaths from alcoholism are once more creeping upwards. It is fairly certain that this upward tendency is being retarded by lack of national prosperity, and that reduction of unemployment will be associated with some further increase in this upward trend.

There are, however, important influences tending in the opposite direction. The gross economic waste implied in the national consumption of alcoholic drinks in Great Britain is being increasingly realized; local option and Sunday closing of public houses are more universally accepted in all temperance circles as the line of policy to be pressed, and there can be little doubt that there will be a steady reduction in the number of public houses, an increase in the number of areas in which no public houses exist, and it may also be hoped there will be no reduction of the present high taxation on alcoholic drinks. Beyond that it is perhaps unsafe to make a forecast. Two important lines of evidence indicate that progress towards national abstinence may be even more rapid than the above remarks indicate:

Physiological researches made by investigators of undoubted authority have shown, time after time, that efficiency in all forms of work, mental and physical, is reduced by even small doses of alcohol, and this fact is becoming increasingly appreciated by the general public.

It is being increasingly realized that economic power is seriously affected by the consumption of alcoholic drinks; and that in present circumstances a country whose inhabitants consume considerable quantities of alcoholic drinks is hopelessly handicapped, physiologically and economically, in competing with another country in which the consumption of alcoholic drinks is an exceptional phenomenon.

The failure of severe and spasmodic restrictive measures in the eighteenth century cannot be quoted as evidence for the inefficiency or undesirableness of restriction. These restrictions were not imposed on the people by a majority of the people themselves through their elected parliamentary representatives; the people themselves were uneducated, and a very large proportion of them were living in a condition of chronic misery, from which the easiest escape was through intoxication.

The present world position may be thus summarized:

1. For many parts of Africa the policy of prohibition of spirits has been endorsed by seven of the great powers.

Alcoholic restrictions now are approved by the majority of the people in many countries, and the hankering for their narcotising effect has become less intense with altered customs, with diversified outlets for recreation and amusement, and with a higher standard of general social life. The minority therefore for whom in the (*Continued on page* 525)

* See Drink in 1914-22. A lesson in Control, by Arthur Shadwell, M.D. 1923.

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Courses 1926-1927

The Method of Social Case Work
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AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE—President, Margaret Sanger, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Objects: To educate American people in the various aspects of the dangers of uncontrolled procreation; to establish centers where married persons may receive contraceptive advice from duly licensed physicians. Life membership $1.00; Birth Control Review (monthly magazine) $2.00 per year.

AMERICAN CHILD HEALTH ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. Herbert Hoover, President; Philip Van Ingen, M.D., Secretary, S. J. Crumbine, M.D., General Executive. Objects: Sound promotion of child health, especially in cooperation with the official health and education agencies.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION—K. L. Butterfield, president; Henry Israel, executive secretary. Room 1849, Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City. Emphasizes the human aspect of country life. Annual membership $5.00 includes "Rural America" (monthly bulletin) and Annual Conference Proceedings.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE HARD OF HEARING—Promotes the cause of the hard of hearing; assists in forming organizations. Pres., Dr. Gordon Berry; Field Secretary, Miss Betty Wright, 1601 35th St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION—Alice L. Edwards, executive secretary, 617 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C. Organized for betterment of conditions in home, school, institution and community. Publishes monthly Journal of Home Economics: office of editor, 617 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C.; of business manager, 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF CANCER—Dr. George A. Soper, managing director, 25 West 43rd Street, New York. To collect, collate and disseminate information concerning the symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues, $5.00.

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. To promote a better understanding of the social hygiene movement; to advance sound sex education, to combat prostitution and sex delinquency; to aid public authorities in the campaign against the venereal diseases; to advise in organization of state and local social-hygiene programs. Annual membership dues $2.00 including monthly journal.

CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, Inc.—730 Fifth Avenue, New York. Telephone: Circle 9623. To secure Mothers Allowance laws in states now having no such provisions; to promote desirable amendments to existing Mothers Allowance laws, to harmonize them with the maximum necessary protection of dependent children; to secure proper laws affecting adoption, boarding out and placing out of dependent children so far as possible to secure home life for normal children in preference to sending them to institutions; to aid in the enforcement of Mothers Pension and kindred laws. States Council of Child Welfare Committee of America comprises representatives of practically every state. Committee publishes digest of laws and educational material on Mothers Pension and kindred topics. Invites requests from responsible public and private organizations for aid in Mothers Pension problems. Sophie Irene Loeb, President; Governor Alfred E. Smith, Honorary Chairman; Margaret Woodrow Wilson, First Vice-President; Edward F. Brown, Executive Secretary.

COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS—156 Fifth Avenue, New York. Composed of 20 Protestant national women's mission boards. Florence E. Quinlan, Executive Secretary.
Work among Farm and Cannery Migrants, Summer service for college students, Laura H. Parker, Executive Supervisor.
Bureau of Reference for Migrating People, follow-up of New Americans, Raymond E. Cole, Executive.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA—Constituted by 28 Protestant communions. Rev. C. S. Macfarland and Rev. S. M. Cavert, Gen. Sec's; 105 E. 22nd St., N. Y. C.
Dept. of Research and Education, Rev. F. E. Johnson, Sec'y.
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HAMPTON INSTITUTE—Trains Negro and Indian youth for community service. Advanced courses: agriculture, builders, business, home-economics, normal. Publishes "Southern Workman" and free material on Negro problems. J. E. Gregg, principal.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SERVICE—To assemble data on international social problems and through work with individual cases to develop methods of international social service. Headquarters, 10 Rue La Bourne, Geneva, Switzerland. Viscountess Gladstone, chairman; Professor Gilbert Murray, treasurer; Ruth Larned, executive. Address all inquiries to American Bureau, One Madison Avenue, New York City. Director, Mary E. Hurlbutt.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON METHODS OF PREVENTING DELINQUENCY—Graham Romeyn Taylor, executive director, 50 East 42nd Street, New York. To promote the adoption of sound methods in this field, with particular reference to psychiatric clinics, visiting teacher work, and training for these and similar services; to conduct related studies, education and publication; and to interpret the work of the Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency.

NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS—Mrs. Robert E. Speer, president; Miss Mabel Cratty, general secretary, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. This organization maintains a staff of executive and traveling secretaries to cover work in the United States in 1,034 local Y. W. C. A.'s on behalf of the industrial, business, student, foreign born, Indian, Colored and younger girls. It has 159 American secretaries at work in 49 centers in the Orient, Latin America and Europe.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE—Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York. Industrial, agricultural investigators. Works for improved laws and administration, children's codes. Studies child labor, health, schools, recreation, dependency, delinquency, etc. Annual membership, $2, $5, $10, $25 and $100 includes monthly publication, "The American Child."

NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION, INC. (est. 1918, incorp. 1914), 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. (tel. Chelsea 8774). Promotes as its chief object the building of character in the children of America through the harmonious development of their bodies, minds, and spirits. Its method is, in co-operation with other organizations, to originate and disseminate educational material in the form of posters, books, bulletins, charts, slides, and insignia. Through its "Knighthood of Youth" it provides homes, schools and church schools with a method of character training through actual practice. Officers: Dr. John H. Finley, Pres.; Charles F. Powlison, Gen. Sec'y.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, INC.—Dr. William H. Welch, honorary president; Dr. Charles P. Emerson president; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, medical director; Dr. Clarence J. D'Alton, executive assistant; Clifford W. Beers, secretary 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Pamphlets on mental hygiene mental and nervous disorders, feeblemindedness, epilepsy, inebriety delinquency, and other mental problems in human behavior, education, industry, psychiatric social service, etc. "Mental Hygiene," quarterly, $3.00 a year: "Mental Hygiene Bulletin," monthly, $ .50 a year.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—Lewis H. Carris, managing director; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, associate director; Dr. B. Franklin Royer, medical director, and Miss Eleanor P. Brown, secretary; 370 Seventh Ave., New York. Objects: To furnish information, exhibits, lantern slides, lectures, personal service for local organizations and legislation, publish literature of movement—samples free, quantities at cost. Includes New York State Committee.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—John A. Lapp, president, Chicago, Ill.; Howard R. Knight, secretary, 277 E. Long St., Columbus, Ohio. The conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Conference will be held in Des Moines, Iowa, Spring, 1927. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of five dollars.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF GIRLS' CLUBS—Mrs. Fannie M. Pollak, president; Mary L. Ely, Educational Secretary. Non-sectarian and self-governing organization of working women's clubs for recreation and promotion of program in Adult Education. Vacation Camps. 472 West 24th St., New York City.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE—For social service among Negroes. L. Hollingsworth Wood, pres.; Eugene Kinckle Jones, exec. sec'y; 127 E. 23rd St., New York. Establishes committees of white and colored people to work out community problems. Trains Negro social workers. Publishes "Opportunity"—a "journal of Negro life."

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION—Anna A. Gordon, president; Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the departments of Child Welfare, Women in Industry, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Americanization and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publication "The Union Signal" published at Headquarters.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE—Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Mrs. Maud Swartz, president; 311 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given.

PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA—315 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Joseph Lee, president; H. S. Braucher, secretary. Special attention given to organization of year-round municipal recreation systems. Information available on playground and community center activities and administration.

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THE SURVEY'S DIRECTORY

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION—For the Improvement of Living Conditions—John M. Glenn, dir.; 130 E. 22d St., New York. Departments: Charity Organization, Delinquency and Penology, Industrial Studies, Library, Recreation, Remedial Loans, Social Legislation, Statistics, Surveys and Exhibits. The publications of the Russell Sage Foundation offer to the public in practical and inexpensive form some of the most important results of its work. Catalogue sent upon request.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE—An institution for the training of Negro Youth; an experiment in race adjustment in the Black Belt of the South; furnishes information on all phases of the race problem and of the Tuskegee idea and methods; Robert R. Moton, prin.; Warren Logan, treas.; A. L. Holsey, acting sec'y, Tuskegee, Ala.

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We and our patients only need to place upon a splendid lofty site among Westchester hills a simple phalanx of Spanish Mission quarters—a home for 100 cancerous poor: admirable in strength, health-devices and sensible conveniences, at the lowest cost consistent with wisdom, in place of an old wooden building inhabited by us for 25 years.
Our patients who are of all creeds and nationalities, pay nothing because their pockets are empty, and we are the connecting link with their friends among the public. Give us this fireproof Home!

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RECEIPTS FOR 4 YEARS—since Fund began—		
Donations	$283,242.93	
Bank interest	5,277.25	
Promised to Fund	10,000.00	
		$298,520.18
EXPENSES FOR 4 YEARS—		
Advertising	$28,183.37	
Lots	6,915.66	
Road, trench work, excavating, labor and material on Fireproof Annex, put up for safety of sickest patients	85,663.66	
Electric Power Plant for Lighting and Well and Laundry Machinery	4,215.12	
Furnishing of Annex	6,972.74	
Accident Insurance	988.02	
Covered Passageway between old Home and Annex, 200 feet long	7,460.86	
Plans, Architect's Fee, Survey	1,792.00	
Electric Well Installation	4,398.90	
Plants and Trees	466.65	
Expense in connection with lecture given to Fund by Jas. J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D.	866.88	
		$147,923.86
Balance in Fund January 1, 1926		$150,596.32

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PROHIBITION IN THE LONG RUN

(*Continued from page* 521)

communal interest severe compulsory restriction or prohibition is necessary can be controlled with increasing prospect of success.

In imposing such restrictions it is inevitable that they may work inconvenience or even a like inhibition on those against whom in the interest of the family or of the community they are not needed, owing to the complexity of the inhibitory means that are practicable. But the facts, dispassionately considered, indicate the need for rigid restriction of this trade; they call upon men of moderate views to show their willingness to suffer some personal inconvenience, to undergo some limitation of their personal liberty, in order that by so doing they may help those still enchained in the bondage of alcoholism to regain the liberty which freedom from temptation to drink will give them. In thus acting, the moderate man cannot truly be said to suffer from restricted liberty; he is living in the higher liberty which characterizes Christian idealism.

ENGLISH LIBERALISM AND BRITISH LABOR

(*Continued from page* 511)

Neither of the opposition parties, therefore, can hope to challenge the position of the Conservatives, who today command an immense majority and in the near future will undoubtedly be able to recruit numbers of right-wing Liberals. If Stanley Baldwin remains the Conservative leader (and who can hope to displace him?) the number of Liberal recruits to Conservatism is certain to be very large. Baldwin is temperamentally a Liberal. His speeches are decidedly nearer to the mind of the present-day Liberal than are those of Lord Oxford or Sir John Simon. One may even hear him spoken of, by Liberals, as to all interests and purposes the Liberal leader.

The dilemma is plain to all: If the existing antagonism of Labor and Liberal remains, the Conservatives are assured of office and power for ten years, or twenty. Baldwin is despised and distrusted by the tory Die-hards. But they have no leader whom the country would consider for a moment as an alternative to the present prime minister; and, moreover, the English Conservative party does not split up. Lloyd George, a born party manipulator and one who delights in coalitions, is of course ready for almost any kind of deal. Those on the Labor side who agree with Philip Snowden are rubbing in the electoral facts, and urging that some steps should be taken to discover a possible basis for a working agreement. No one in the progressive ranks can bear to contemplate a generation of Conservative rule—whether under Stanley Baldwin, who talks goodwill but must pursue conservative policies, or under a hard tory who would make no show of progressive sentiments.

All this, however, does not help us with the practical difficulty. Distasteful as the prospect is for all progressives, whether left-wing Liberals or members of the Labor party, the formula for a working agreement is not discoverable. The experience of 1924 is fresh in the memory of all members of Parliament and candidates. The Labor government was kept in office by a day-to-day reliance upon Liberal votes. Without the assurance of this support, Ramsay MacDonald could not have taken office. Without its steady continuance he could not have stayed in. But all the time that this was going on in Parliament every Liberal member had to keep his defences up in his constituency against the organized attack of the Labor party. Obviously there is no help for this. The Labor party must work away at its task of converting the country, and that means in practice as fierce an opposition to the Liberals as to the Conservatives. There cannot be war in the constituencies and cooperation in Parliament. An attempt was made to continue the two during the brief life of the one Labor government, and of course it was intolerable. The only conceivable way to an entente would be through a division of seats in a selected number of cities and towns. The fight between the Labor and Liberal parties has gone too far for that.

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Address Advertising Department **THE SURVEY** 112 East 19th Street New York City

WORKERS WANTED

WANTED: Physical director, with college training, by Jewish Community center in large Southern city. Unusual salary to right man. 5562 SURVEY.

WANTED in large midwestern city experienced Jewish case work supervisor; two trained case workers also experienced worker for Children's Bureau. College graduate preferred. Excellent opportunity for advancement. 5556 SURVEY.

WANTED: Head Worker for Settlement and Day Nursery. Must have experience in case work and Settlement work and as a Director. Must live at the Settlement. 5551 SURVEY.

WANTED: experienced executive as director of Young Women's Hebrew Association. Good salary, comfortable living quarters. State age, education, experience. 5550 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE Secretary and Case Worker wanted by Eastern Social Service Agency. Please state age, training and experience. 5563 SURVEY.

WANTED in large midwestern city, experienced Jewish psychiatric worker, prefer one with case work training; also experienced worker for delinquent girls. 5557 SURVEY.

DISTRICT secretary to take charge staff of eight. Must have worked three years under expert supervision in family case work agency and demonstrated ability to gain new workers and lead case conference. Apply Social Welfare League, Seattle.

WANTED: Girls' Club Worker. Settlement House, New York City. 5554 SURVEY.

WORKERS WANTED

DIETITIAN wanted for Jewish Children's Home. Institutional experience preferred. Address Superintendent, 5342 St. Charles Avenue, New Orleans, La.

PERSONAL SERVICE WORKER, for New York Settlement. At least some good case work experience essential. $1500 and room. 5568 SURVEY.

WANTED—WOMAN WORKER in Childrens Court. College graduation, case-work experience with delinquent children necessary. Apply Executive Director Jewish Social Service Bureau, 9 Court Square, Brooklyn, N. Y.

WANTED: Married couple, one or both of whom is qualified to teach grammar school grades. Resident position, salary and maintenance. Small private school about thirty-five miles from New York. Duties include those implied in term "house father and mother". Apply by letter only. A. E Wakeman, 72 Schermerhorn Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Executive director, young women's club (Mid-West) $2400.

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HEALTH and hygiene worker with nutrition and Jewish dietetic background to take charge of health education and extension work at Community Health Center, Federation of Jewish Charities, 330 South 9th Street, Philadelphia.

WANTED: by Jewish Children's Agency, New York, case worker with good educational background, some professional training and some field experience. 5570 SURVEY.

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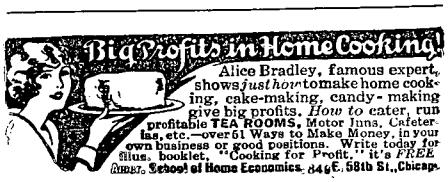
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EXPERIENCED Boys' Worker desires position. Available immediately. Institution preferred. Best of references. 5553 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED Case-work Executive, college woman, desires position with Philadelphia agency. 5548 SURVEY.

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Middleaged woman, capable buyer, experienced in children's work, desires position in small institution, or in motherless home. 5561 SURVEY.

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EXPERIENCED Community Center and Girl Recreational Worker desires resident position in New York. Box 5566 SURVEY.

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SOCIAL WORKER, twelve years experience, House Director in Girls' Home, Institution or Settlement. Good executive, excellent manager and caterer. Would consider case work in hospital. 5574 SURVEY.

For Summer Cottages and Real Estate Advertisements
see page 528 of this issue.

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"PROGRAM OF A JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER —AN ADVENTURE IN COMMUNITY CO-OPERATION". Philip L. Seman, Jewish People's Institute, 1258 W. Taylor St., Chicago, Illinois. Single copy $.50.

CHICAGO STANDARD BUDGET FOR DEPENDENT FAMILIES (Revised). Chicago Council of Social Agencies, 308 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago. 25c per copy.

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MENTAL HYGIENE: quarterly: $3.00 a year: published by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York.

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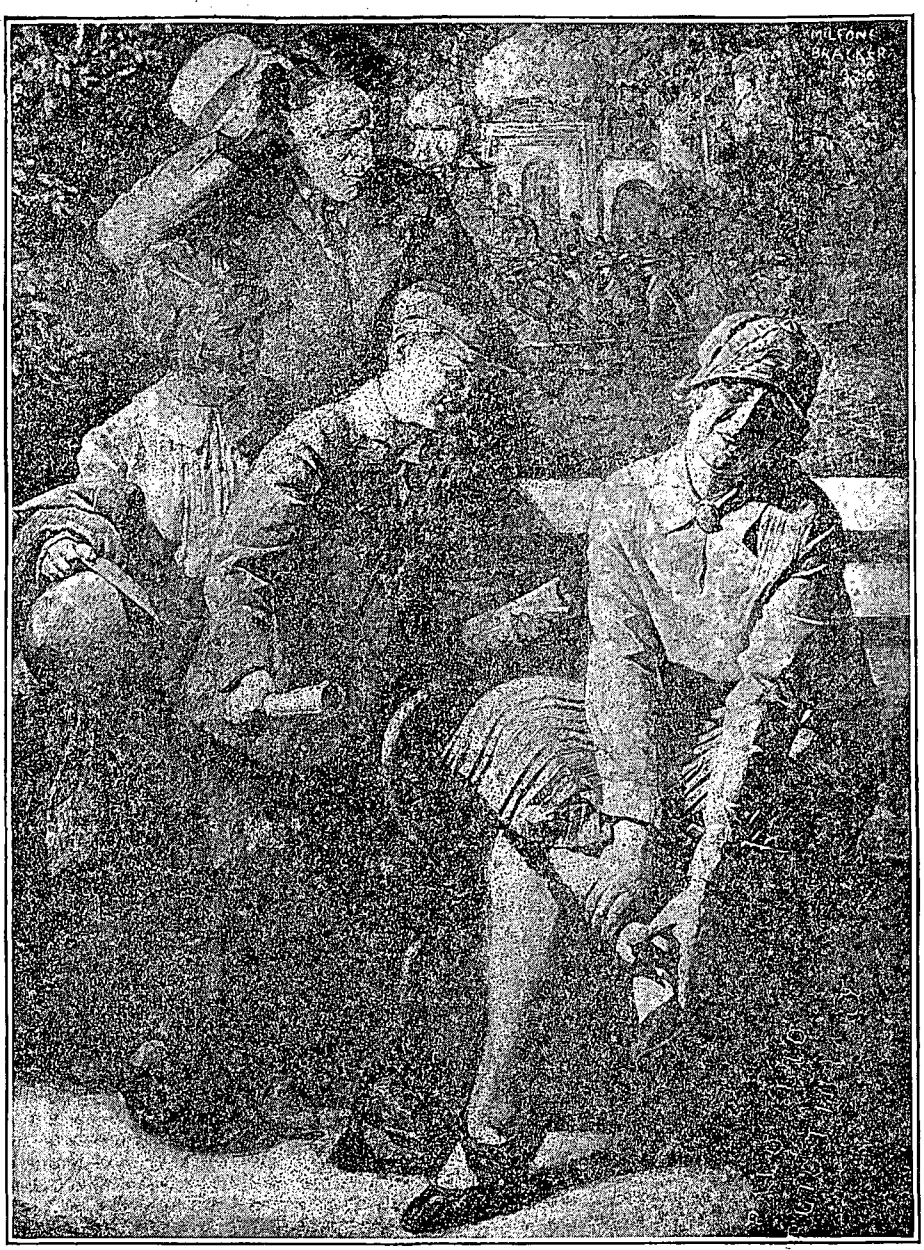
AFTER years of abuse—when any of the sturdy little bones of the foot slip out of position, the arches begin to fall. The excruciating pain in the foot is only part of the misery that follows.

Stubborn cases of headache, backache, continued fatigue, poor circulation, indigestion, unruly nerves, spinal disorders, pain frequently mistaken for kidney trouble, neuritis or rheumatism—each may have its origin in the feet.



What Causes Foot Ailments?

Misuse, disuse and abuse.

Misuse commonly means standing and walking with the toes pointed out instead of *straight ahead*. It also means throwing the weight of the body on the inside of the foot.

Disuse is a serious cause of foot distress. When the feet are not properly exercised, the muscles supporting the four arches often become weakened until the bone framework sags and the feet are almost flat.

Abuse of the feet is largely a matter of ill-fitting shoes—too short, too narrow, too pointed, too high-heeled, too thin-soled or with soles that do not fit and protect the bottom of the foot.

How to Correct and Prevent Foot Troubles

If your feet are normal and healthy, congratulate yourself. But if you are having difficulty do not delay a day in getting expert medical advice. You may need a different type of shoe, or special foot and leg exercises, or some particular kind of arch support.

Protect your children from the tortures of foot troubles and the serious results of neglect. Guard their easily molded feet. See that they wear correct shoes with a straight inner edge and sufficient room for the toes. Teach them what everyone should know and practice—to walk lightly *with toes straight ahead* and to remember that every time they hit the ground, the ground hits back.

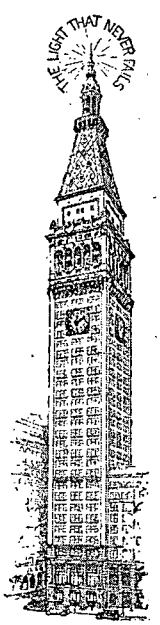
The joys of outdoor life, the pleasures of sightseeing, the benefits of walking and the enjoyment of athletic sports are only for those who have properly cared for their feet and have made them sturdy, dependable friends.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company recognizes the importance of protecting the feet as a means of safeguarding health. It has just published a booklet, "Foot Health" which contains a great deal of valuable information.

This booklet tells about the various kinds of foot troubles—and what causes them. It explains how to avoid the suffering and dangers attendant upon foot ailments. It shows how incorrect shoes and wrong methods of walking and standing cause foot distress and often contribute to bodily ills and mental depressions.

It will be a pleasure to us to send this booklet to anyone needing help. Just ask for "Foot Health" and it will be mailed free of charge.

HALEY FISKE, *President.*



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